

ial

Issues in Applied Linguistics

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ARTICLES

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The Transfer of Language Speech Behavior into a Second Language: A Basis for Cultural Stereotypes?
Andrea DeCapua

The Study of Cohesion in Schizophrenia: Theory and Application
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BOOK REVIEWS

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by Helen Fragiadakis and Virginia M. Maurer
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Editorial

This issue marks the beginning of ISSUES IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS' ninth year of publication. Its founders envisioned a journal which would include research addressing not only mainstream topics in the field of applied linguistics, but also, and perhaps most importantly, research which in some way was underrepresented and thus pushed the boundaries of the field. *ial* was also envisioned as a place in which research would fundamentally be grounded in "issues" of the applied linguistics field. In its eight-year history, *ial* has continued to provide a forum for research which spans the wide spectrum of language use and language acquisition issues as informed by disciplines as diverse as anthropology, education, linguistics, neurobiology, psychology, and sociology in the form of articles, interviews, thematic issues, open conversations, and book reviews.

In keeping with the intentions of the founders and our predecessors, the current issue offers three very diverse articles which represent three different theoretical and methodological perspectives on language. The first article, by Pavlenko, addresses the fundamental issue in applied linguistics of the inter-dependence between second language acquisition and cultural/identity transformation. Pavlenko explores the relationship between languages and selves in persons who learned their second language post-puberty and went on to become writers and scholars in the second language. Using autobiographical narratives, the author describes the process of transformation and evolution that second language learners go through as they assimilate and become fluent speakers of the language. While much of second language acquisition research has focused on language acquisition in a narrow sense, this author explores the feelings of loss and gain of identity of the learners themselves.

Addressing a similar issue in applied linguistics, the second article, by DeCapua, investigates the phenomenon of pragmatic transfer as a basis for cultural stereotypes, specifically looking at elicited responses of German L2 learners of English as compared to native speakers of English. This issue, similar to the one addressed in Pavlenko's article, deals with the connection between language acquisition and cultural identity; however, whereas Pavlenko investigates the learners' perceptions of their own identity, DeCapua explores the L2 learners' identity as perceived by others in the target culture. The author uses a discourse completion questionnaire with five different situations to evoke complaints from respondents. Based on difference in questionnaire responses, she concludes that nonnative speakers are producing responses in the L2 that adhere to the L1's rules of speaking. This, she argues, contributes to the formation of cultural stereotypes.

The last article, by Abu-Akel, addresses another major area of applied linguistics—language use. He employs cohesion analysis in an examination of the

speech of persons diagnosed as having disorganized schizophrenia. The author uses recorded speech samples taken pre- and post-medication to measure the efficacy to an antipsychotic medication, Clozapine, on the use of cohesive devices in the speech of the subjects. The author includes both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data to conclude that Clozapine does, in fact, cause some changes in spontaneous use of language in these subjects. The issue addressed by Abu-Akel is the interface between neurobiology and communicative ability, laminated on top of which is the way in which a specific chemical may affect the brain.

In addition, the book reviews serve a dual purpose. They provide an opportunity for graduate students—a group which is often under-represented in the field—to publish their insights. Beyond this, we hope they provide you as readers with background on a broad range of literature in the field.

As *ial* moves into its ninth year, we are committed to continuing the tradition of giving voice to innovative and diverse work within the broadly defined field of applied linguistics, as well as to provide a public forum for those issues and authors who might otherwise not be heard.

June 1998

Anna M. Guthrie
Tanya Stivers

Second Language Learning by Adults: Testimonies of Bilingual Writers

Aneta Pavlenko
Cornell University

The article focuses on the relationship between languages and selves in adult bicultural bilinguals who learned their second language (L2) post puberty and became writers and scholars in this language. Their autobiographic narratives are used to identify and examine subsequent stages of second language learning (SLL) and the authors' current positioning. On the basis of this novel source of data an argument is presented for new metaphors of SLL, new approaches to SLL, and for the existence—in some cases—of two stages of SLL: a stage of losses and a stage of gains, with specific substages within.

When speaking of bilingual fiction writers, two examples are usually brought up, that of Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov (e.g., Pinker, 1994). It is important to finally acknowledge an equally astounding success of a multitude of contemporary writers, such as Andrei Codrescu, Eva Hoffman, Jan Novak, Jerzy Kosinski, Agota Kristof, Tzvetan Todorov and others, who learned their second language as teenagers and adults, and went on to become poets and novelists in this language. Their superb mastery of the new language now supersedes that of a majority of the native speakers.

The presence of these authors became especially noticeable recently, when American literature witnessed a surge of interest in the issues of adult bilingualism and biculturalism, identity and translation, displacement and belonging, marked by the appearance of such acclaimed literary masterpieces as Rodriguez's *Hunger for Memory* (1982), Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1989), Kaplan's *Lessons in French* (1993), Chang Rae Lee's *Native Speaker* (1995) and several others¹. Literary theorists responded to this new wave by initiating the study of 'displacement' and 'life on the hyphen' from a scholarly standpoint (Beaujour, 1989; Valenta, 1991; Bammer, 1994; Badowska, 1995).

The autobiographic narratives of bilingual and bicultural writers and scholars constitute an intriguing and often disregarded source of evidence about the process of second language learning by adults. Twenty years ago, Steiner (1975), lamenting the state of research on bilingualism and second language acquisition, urged the field to consider such memoirs and to submit them to serious analysis. At present, these voices are still conspicuously absent in linguistic and SLA literature, shut out and banned from participation in any scholarly discussion of bilingualism, because the subjective first person singular remains a suspect genre. De-

scribing the current state of the SLA field, one of the prominent 'language learning' writers, Alice Kaplan (1994), raises a complaint, similar to Steiner's:

I read as many scholarly disquisitions as I could find on second language acquisition ... and I found methods and statistics and the occasional anecdote, but nothing, really, about what is going on in the head of the person who suddenly finds herself passionately engaged in new sounds and a new voice, who discovers that "chat" is not a cat at all but a new creature in new surroundings. ... There is more to language learning than the memorization of verbs and the mastery of an accent. (Kaplan, 1994, pp. 59, 69)

Her proposal is to turn to "an entire genre of twentieth-century autobiographical writing which is in essence about language learning" (Kaplan, 1994, p. 59). Kaplan (1994) compares this genre of 'language memoir' to the classic *Bildungsroman*, the novel of education and development: the difference between the two is that it's not an adult self that one is growing into in 'language' literature, but an entirely different self, often perceived as better, safer, more powerful and more prestigious.

It is not surprising that self and translation become the key notions in the 'language learning' narratives. As pointed out by Mercer (1990): "Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (p. 43). Learning a second language in immigration or exile is often perceived as such a dislocation or de-centering of the subject. This feeling is poignantly summarized by a Russian-English bilingual, an American writer Alfred Kazin: "To speak a foreign language is to depart from yourself!" (Kazin, 1979, p. 27).

In agreement with post-modernist approaches, in this study I will approach 'identities' not as stable, but as fluid and dynamic, while at the same time grounded in a variety of local discourses, which include but are not limited to class, gender, race, ethnicity and nationality. 'Translation' will encompass making meaning of the new cultural practices and reinterpreting one's own subjectivities (self-translation), in order to 'mean' in the new environment since "the person can only be a meaningful entity, both to himself or herself and to others, by being 'read' in terms of the discourses available in that society" (Burr, 1995, p. 142).

Following Steiner's (1975) and Kaplan's (1994) suggestion, I will examine these 'second language learning narratives,' focusing on the relationship between languages and selves in an attempt to provide at least partial answers to the following questions: in which discourse is an adult bilingual more at home? what is the language of her emotions and feelings? what is her inner language? Or, as George Steiner phrases it: "In what language *am I, suis-je, bin ich*, when I am inmost? What is the tone of self?" (1975, p. 120). Subsequently I will argue for the full-fledged entry of this, unacknowledged by linguists, genre into the debate on bilingualism: in a postmodern era, when the notion of impartial objectivity is dismantled and all that is left are situated subjectivities, the voices of bilinguals themselves

must be heard at least on par with the voices of the—often monolingual—researchers who study the phenomenon of SLA.

In an attempt to reduce the irreducible, I will outline my itinerary through this literary map by the following questions in relation to the bilingual authors: first, I will discuss the *how*, the process through which they became their current selves; then, I will look at the *where* and *who*, presenting their own views of their situatedness at present. Finally, I will also approach the *what*, or, in other words, late bilinguals' views of what their two conceptual systems look like and how they function in their two discourses.

The *how*, the routes that led different individuals to their present state, are many and varied; all of them, however, have something in common: starting with displacement, often a double or triple one, they lead through a painful, inexhaustive and, for some, never ending process of translation, both inward and outward. One of the most detailed descriptions of language socialization and acculturation is provided in a widely acclaimed book by Eva Hoffman *Lost in Translation. A Life in a New Language* (1989). Hoffman is an American writer, whose Polish-Jewish family emigrated from Poland to North America in 1959, when the author was thirteen. In her book, she provides a penetrating account of a gradual personality change, together with deep insights into Polish and Anglo cultural attitudes and norms that have clashed in her personal experiences.

According to Hoffman, the process of change or 'translation' of one's self started for her by a 'careless baptism,' an imposed name change: from Ewa and Alina, the author and her sister become 'Eva' and 'Elaine.' What follows is a shattering loss of their linguistic identity:

Nothing much has happened, except a small, seismic mental shift. The twist in our names takes them a tiny distance from us—but it is a gap into which the infinite hobgoblin of abstraction enters. Our Polish names didn't refer to us; they were us as surely as our eyes or hands. These new appellations, which we ourselves can't yet pronounce, are not us. They are identification tags, disembodied signs pointing to objects that happen to be my sister and myself. . . [They] make us strangers to ourselves. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 105)

Similar comments are made by Rodriguez (1982), Hirsch (1994) and many others who went through the tormenting process of re-naming and re-learning new names that accompany their new identities. Another Polish-English bilingual, the well-known linguist Anna Wierzbicka (1985) remembers her own painful initiation :

When I came to Australia to live, one of my most keenly felt experiences was the loss of my (linguistic) identity. For my English-speaking acquaintances I was neither *Ania* nor *pani Ania* and not even *pani Anna*. I was *Anna* and this did not correspond in its socio-semantic value to any of the forms used in Polish. ...the switch from the Polish *Ania* to the English *Anna* is more than a

linguistic change: it is also a switch in the style of interpersonal interaction. (Wierzbicka, 1985, p. 189)

The loss of the linguistic identity is accompanied by the loss of all previous subjectivities, as poignantly recalled by a Russian-American bilingual Helen Yakobson:

My "Americanization" took place at all levels of my existence; in one sweep I had lost not only my family and my familiar surroundings, but also my ethnic, cultural and class identity. (Yakobson, 1994, p. 119)

The displacement entails a complete loss of the reference frame, and, literally, geographical frame: while for Ewa and her family Poland is the center of the world, for their new friends it is a distant spot somewhere on the periphery, crowded together with other insignificant countries. For a while, Hoffman's heroine is forced to live in a split universe, where

the signifier has become severed from the signified. The words I learn now don't stand for things in the same unquestioned way they did in my native tongue. "River" in Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. "River" in English is cold—a word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connotation. It does not evoke. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 106)

Ewa deeply mourns her ability to describe the world around her; her new words are simple referents without any conceptual systems to back them up:

[The words] come up from a part of my brain in which labels may be manufactured but which has no connection to my instincts, quick reactions, knowledge. Even the simplest adjectives sow confusion in my mind; English kindness has a whole system of morality behind it, a system that makes "kindness" an entirely positive virtue. Polish kindness has the tiniest element of irony. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 108)

The first step on Hoffman's road toward redemption is a desperate attempt to learn the language: the new words and expressions are picked up from school exercises, conversations, books. The two teenage sisters learn fast, but they are continuously struck by the differences in the two discourses. One, for example, is supposed to thank, when in Polish it would be unnecessary, and it is close to impossible to overrule the native script and bring oneself to say "You are welcome," implying that there was something for which to thank, that you indeed did someone a favor. As pointed out by Wierzbicka (1997) such clash of cultural scripts often leads the learner to "discover" his or her own native culture:

One of the most important of these personal discoveries which I owe to my life in Australia was the discovery of the phenomenon of Polish culture. When I lived in Poland, immersed in Polish culture, I was no more aware of its specialness than I was of the air I breathed. Now, immersed in the very different Anglo (and Anglo-Australian) culture, I gradually became more and more aware of the distinctiveness of Polish culture. (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 115)

Immersion in a new culture has its cost though:

...if the outer world associated with the English language was different from my accustomed Polish world, the inner world was even more so. For example, I came to realize that the most important everyday emotions in Polish had no place in English. For instance, in Polish, I used to say often '*strasznie sie ciesze*' or '*okropnie sie denerwuje*,' but none of these things were really sayable in English. First, the English equivalents of the Polish intensifiers *strasznie* and *okropnie* ('terribly') would sound excessive in an English-language conversation. Second, the Polish durative reflexive verbs suggested an on-going emotional process, and an active attitude (similar to that reflected in the atypical English verb 'to worry,' and in the archaic verb 'to rejoice'), and so they were quite different from the English adjectives describing states such as 'happy' or 'upset.' And third, the lexical meaning of the Polish words in question was different from any corresponding English words: *ciesze sie* was closer to the archaic *rejoice* than to *happy*, *martwie sie* combined something like worry with elements of chagrin and sorrow, *denerwuje sie* suggested a state of great agitation and 'fretting' (but without the negative connotations of the latter word) as well as something like being upset, and so on. ...What applied to emotions, applied also to religion, to the everyday philosophy of life, to values, to social relations.... (Wierzbicka, 1997, pp. 115-116)

The next loss to face, therefore, is that of the inner speech, the private voice we use for talking to ourselves and in "constructing the self:"

I wait for spontaneous flow of inner language which used to be my nighttime talk with myself...Nothing comes. Polish, in a short time, has atrophied, shriveled from sheer uselessness. Its words don't apply to my new experiences, they're not coeval with any of the objects, or faces, or the very air I breath in the daytime. In English, the words have not penetrated to those layers of my psyche from which a private connection could proceed. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 107).

Being a teenager, Ewa starts socializing with her school friends, keeping silent most of the time because of the inability to tell stories and jokes in a new language, to engage in new and different interpersonal relationships. Wierzbicka (1997) vividly illustrates these differences in style:

... what was different was the whole style of interpersonal interaction. To put it crudely, diminutives like 'dear-little-herring' were not needed in English speech

for in Anglo culture it was not seen as appropriate to urge guests to eat more than they wanted to; and a constant flood of diminutives in interaction with children was not only not needed but it would have seemed inappropriate, given the prevailing ethos of personal autonomy, independence, and self-reliance. (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 118)

Finally, however, out of the bleak nothingness, a tiny new voice starts to emerge. It is interesting that at first this voice is captured in a diary, a private activity conducted in a public language, which grants 'the double distance of English and writing.' This diary is the first stepping stone on Ewa's way to becoming Eva; it allows her to face a new, English self, which is addressed as the double, Siamese-twin "you," since it cannot be called an "I" yet. Step by step, Ewa/Eva discovers and inhabits the new territory, learning to preserve cultural distances and to read subtle signals, becoming socialized into cultural rituals, behaviors, traditions. She is continuously searching, not just for the right ways to express herself linguistically, but for the right landmarks and metaphors on her way to adulthood and womanhood, getting continuously lost in the double displacement:

The question of femininity is becoming vexing to me as well. How am I to become a woman in an American vein, how am I to fit the contours of my Texan's soul? The allegory of gender is different here, and it unfolds around different typologies and different themes. I can't become a "Pani" of any sort: not like the authoritative Pani Orlovska, or the vampy, practical Pani Dombarska, or the flirty, romantic woman writer I once met. None of these modes of femininity makes sense here, none of them would find corresponding counterparts in the men I know. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 189)

Questioning and observing, Ewa/Eva goes through high school, college, graduate school, gets her first job teaching literature. In a search of her own, she appropriates others' voices, attempting to re-create herself through others, or, as Hirsch (1994) suggests, to "relocate through friendship:"

All around me, the Babel of American voices, hardy midwestern voices, sassy New York voices, quick youthful voices, voices arching under the pressure of various crosscurrents. ...Since I lack a voice of my own, the voices of others invade me as if I were a silent ventriloquist. They ricochet within me, carrying on conversations, lending me their modulations, intonations, rhythms. I do not yet possess them; they possess me. But some of them satisfy a need; some of them stick to my ribs. ...Eventually, the voices enter me; by assuming them, I gradually make them mine. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 220)

Prompted by the desire to belong, to "fit in," to be understood, language and culture learning take place on all levels of discourse, leading to profound changes in culturally constituted (and now re-constituted) selves:

I had to learn to 'calm down,' to become less 'sharp' and less 'blunt,' less 'excitable,' less 'extreme' in my judgements, more 'tactful' in their expression. I had to learn the use of Anglo understatement (instead of more hyperbolic and more emphatic Polish ways of speaking). I had to learn to avoid sounding 'dogmatic,' 'argumentative,' 'emotional.' ... I had to learn the use of English expressions such as 'on the one hand..., on the other hand,' 'well yes,' 'well no,' or 'that's true but on the other hand.' Thus, I was learning new ways of speaking, new patterns of communication, new modes of social interaction.... I was learning the Anglo rules of turn-taking.... I was learning not to use the imperative (Do X!) in my daily interaction with people and to replace it with a broad range of interrogative devices.... But these weren't just changes in the patterns of communication. There were also changes in my personality. I was becoming a different person, at least when I was speaking English. (Wierzbicka, 1997, pp. 119-120)

Hoffman's recollections concur with those of Wierzbicka, describing the result of such "discursive assimilation:"

My mother says I'm becoming "English." This hurts me, because I know she means I'm becoming cold. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 146)

Not surprisingly, this intense process of second language learning is often accompanied by gradual attrition of the native language, as witnessed by Hoffman (1989) and another late bilingual, an American writer of Czech origin, Jan Novak (1994):

...my Czech had begun to deteriorate. There were times now when I could not recall an everyday word, such as "carrot," "filer," or "sloth." I would waste the day probing the labyrinthine recesses of my memory because to get help from the dictionary seemed only to legitimize the loss. ...Computers, graft, football and other things were becoming easier to talk about in English. Most disturbingly, however, now and then a straightforward Czech phrase would suddenly turn opaque and abstract on me. To comprehend it, I would have to replay it in my mind as if it reached me wrapped in a thick, unfamiliar accent. I would not be sure whether it was correctly put; there was a sense that something was wrong with it, but I could not say what. The fleeting glimpses of Czech as a foreign language unnerved and depressed me... gradually I realized when drafting [my poems] that I was now explaining things that a Czech reader would know. I had started to write for Americans; my linguistic transformation was under way. It was to happen in three delicately unburdening stages, as I moved from writing in Czech about Czechs for Czechs to writing for Americans in English about Americans (Novak, 1994, pp. 263-264).

Interestingly, the full mastery of a new language is often initially achieved in and through writing, often diary writing, which, as argued above, allows a luxury of simultaneous privacy and distance. Development of writing in a second lan-

guage in successful bilingual writers is thoroughly examined by Beaujour (1989), who followed the future writers on this road to new identity, looking at their first attempts of self-expression in a second language, often in the form of letters and diaries. Beaujour found that some acclaimed writers initiated these attempts to write quite late in life. For example, Elsa Triolet's diaries, full of code-switched sentences, showed that at the age of thirty two she was still writing mainly in Russian and only attempted to discover her new voice in French. Moreover, this new voice was judged by Beaujour to be still quite stiff at the time. The researcher also found that the first attempts at writing were thematically and stylistically similar to work recently produced in a first language. Beaujour suggested that a gradual transition helps the writer to discover his personal voice in the new language and in time, some authors, like Nabokov, Triolet or Beckett become famous for their fine mastery of this language, its various styles and registers.

The form that the work in a new language most often takes is also of significant importance here. Interestingly enough, the majority of the work by the authors in question deals in one way or another with the authors' childhoods, thus, representing the genre of *récit d'enfance*. Such memoirs, sometimes verging on the documentary and at other times almost entirely fictitious, include Sarraute's *Enfance* (1983), Young's *Growing Up in Moscow. Memories of a Soviet Girlhood* (1989), Rodriguez's *Hunger of Memory* (1982), Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1989) and many other autobiographies, as well as "childhood description" fragments within other novels. The need for repositioning vis-à-vis one's own life and experiences comes through in all of the literary works in question, even those that attempt to describe the past with the precision and thoroughness of a documentary. A good example of the latter is the autobiography of a Russian American bilingual, Cathy Young, who arrived in the US in 1980 at the age of 17. Ten years later, describing her childhood in the Moscow of the seventies, Young reconceptualizes her past in terms of her present, viewing it through the lenses supplied by the new discourse. For instance, in an attempt to provide a framework for her childhood experiences, Young skillfully uses a popular American concept of a JAP:

Was I a Jewish Soviet Princess? There's no such term in Russian idiom (although a Russian would instantly understand what a "Jewish mother" is), but every Soviet child of my generation and my milieu, especially one who was spared kindergarten, was something of a prince or a princess, Jewish or whatever. (Young, 1989, p. 4)

Her ironic relabelling touches upon historic and literary figures which populated Soviet childhood and ranges from Lenin, "the Holy Child," to the famous heroine of a nineteenth century play *The Thunderstorm*, "beautiful and passionate Katerina, whom we might describe in contemporary American lingo as unfulfilled" (Young, 1989, p. 85). What prompts this need for resurrecting and relabelling the past, so salient in the bilinguals' prose? The need to recreate and to reframe one's story in another language is not accidental: more than anything it represents trans-

lation therapy, the last stage of the healing process, prompted by the need to translate oneself, to ensure continuity by transforming and reintegrating one's childhood into one's new past. Otherwise, one would only have an unfinished life in one language, and a life, started in the middle, in another. A need to tie the two together prompts the authors to look into their past from a position of double displacement: in time as well as in cultural space.

As excruciating and anguishing as the journey through the borderland may be, for many there is a light at the end of the tunnel. In Hoffman's (1989) book, Ewa's second voice slowly acquires more and more strength, and Eva becomes a person in her own right, crossing the dividing line between herself and her new language:

But it's not until many years later, not until I've finished graduate school successfully, and have begun to teach literature to others, that I crack the last barrier between myself and the language... It happens as I read "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," which I'm to explicate to a class of freshmen at the University of New Hampshire... My eye moves over these lines in its accustomed dry silence; and then—as if an aural door had opened of its own accord—I hear their modulations and their quite undertones. Over the years, I've read so many explications of these stanzas that I can analyze them in a half a dozen ingenious ways. But now, suddenly I'm attuned, through some mysterious faculty of the mental ear, to their inner sense... Bingo, I think, this is it, the extra, the attribute of language over and above function and criticism. I'm back within the music of the language, and Eliot's words descend on me with a sort of grace. Words become, as they were in childhood, beautiful things—except this is better, because they're now crosshatched with a complexity of meaning, wit the sonorities of felt, sensuous thought. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 186)

In the end, for Hoffman (1989), Novak (1994) and many others, the second language wins, becoming the language in which the rituals of adulthood are performed, the language of friendships, love affairs, marriage, favorite books and movies, and, undoubtedly, the inner language of the self, the unconscious and dreams. Novak even pinpoints the exact moment of this transition: "English had become the official language of my subconscious—the Czechs too now spoke unaccented English in my dreams" (Novak, 1994, p. 265).

On the basis of the evidence presented, I would like to suggest two stages in the process of language learning in immigration: the first stage of continuous losses (as opposed to the generally accepted view of language learning as immediate "acquisition") and the second stage of gains and (re)construction. The stage of losses can further be divided into five substages:

- "careless baptism:" loss of one's linguistic identity;
- loss of all subjectivities;
- loss of the frame of reference and the link between the signifier and the signified;
- loss of the inner voice;

- first language attrition.

The somewhat overlapping stage of gains and (re)construction can be divided into four substages:

- appropriation of other's voices;
- emergence of one's own voice, often first in writing;
- translation therapy: reconstruction of one's past;
- continuous growth "into" new positions and subjectivities.

Once the cross-over is completed, new challenges surface: the bilinguals have to face the fact that meaning is not equivalent in their two discursive systems, and deal with it to the best of their ability, finding their own ways to "mean" and to translate. When talking about their incommensurable discourses, bilingual authors usually bring up two major problems: the enormous difficulty, bordering on impossibility, of translating one's own text and the resulting fact that one's story has a tendency to change with the change of language in which it is narrated. In an essay with a symbolic title "Tongue-Tied Eloquence: Notes on Language, Exile and Writing" Stanislaw Baranczak (1994), a Polish-English bilingual, argues that the author, particularly the author who lives in exile and harbors the ambition to conquer the minds of his foreign-tongued hosts, is never interested in approximations. His one-of-a-kind message has to come across precisely, unbent and unaltered; in this situation "the translator is the author's adversary rather than his ally, a spoiler rather than helper, a necessary evil. Even if the translator is the author himself" (Baranczak, 1994, p. 249).

Beaujour (1989), in her detailed study on bilingual authors, brings up an interesting story of recounting one's childhood in another language. Julien Green, a French-English bilingual author who lived in America during World War II, published several novels in French drawing on his American experience. He then started writing the story of his childhood in French, but the lack of a French publisher made him switch languages and create the same narrative in English. When at some point Green compared the beginnings written in French and the ones written in English, he saw that they were significantly different, a difference that Green attributed to the change in languages:

So I laid aside what I had written and decided to begin the book again, this time in English, my intention being to use practically the same words, or, if you wish, to translate my own sentences into English. At this point something quite unexpected happened. With a very definite idea as to what I wanted to say, I began my book, wrote about a page and a half and, on rereading what I had written, realized that I was writing another book, a book so different in tone from the French that a whole aspect of the subject must of necessity be altered. It was, as if writing in English, I had become another person. I went on. New trains of thought were started in my mind, new associations of ideas were formed. There was so little resemblance between what I wrote in English, and what I had already written in French that it might almost be doubted that the same person was the author of these two pieces of work. This puzzled

me considerably and still does. (Green, 1985, p. 180, as cited in Beaujour, 1989)

Elsewhere Green (1985) also commented on the difficulty of translating himself from French into English:

What struck me most, however, was how little these English sentences resembled the French sentences I had written on the same subject. Now, what I had expected to read was a sort of unconscious translation from the French, or at least a very close equivalent, whereas what I saw might have been written by another hand than mine. I don't want to imply more than I mean. The subject was the same. The choice of details quite different. I did not say the same things in both languages, because, when writing in English, I had the feeling that in some obscure way I was not quite the same person... There is an Anglo-Saxon way of approaching a subject, just as there is a French way. (1985, pp. 228-230, as cited in Beaujour, 1989)

The same feeling struck Novak (1994), who was sent a Czech translation of his novel written in English:

I started reading it and it was my novel all right, my stories, my characters, my long breathless rhythms, my words that said everything I had wanted to say—and yet I could never have written this book. Had it been composed in Czech, the novel would have been a totally different work. (Novak, 1994, p. 266)

Another striking example of the impossibility of faithful translation of one's own writing is described in an essay by a Bulgarian-French bilingual Tzvetan Todorov, formerly a Bulgarian intellectual and currently a French literary critic. Todorov had written a paper in French to present at a conference in Bulgaria, his former country. In this paper he argued that the native-born person is always blind to his/her own identity, that the history of a people is essentially the sum of the external influences to which it has been subjected, that, in any case, it is better to live in the present than to try to resurrect the past; in short, that there is no point in imprisoning oneself in traditional national values. Subsequently, Todorov, for whom at the time it was more natural to write in French, started translating this address into Bulgarian, and—reacting to an argument as would the Bulgarian intellectuals, one of which he had been in the past—he felt obliged to replace his argument with its contrary. He realized that the condemnation of attachment to national values critically depends on one's situatedness: while Paris may be a place that favors the renunciation of nationalist values, Sofia, placed within a sphere of influence of a larger country, is not conducive to such abandon. Pondering on this experience, Todorov states:

My twin affiliation produces but one effect: in my own eyes it renders inauthentic each of my two modes of discourse, since each can correspond to but

half of my being. I am indeed double. ...My two languages, my two kinds of discourse were, from a certain point of view, too close. Either was capable of mediating the totality of my experience, and neither was clearly subordinate to the other. Here, one presided, there, the other took over. But neither ruled unconditionally. They were too much alike, and therefore could do nothing but take the other's place: they could not be combined. (Todorov, 1994, pp. 211-12)

If I were now to question the *what* of the bilingual mind and to ask again, whether there are two personalities, two I's, two worldviews co-existing in many late bilinguals, the answer would clearly be a positive one. There are two voices and selves, which coexist, peacefully or violently, at times reacting differently to events and people, providing contradictory, conflicting answers to posited questions:

Should you marry him? the question comes in English.—Yes.—Should you marry him? the question echoes in Polish.—No. ...—Should you become a pianist? the question comes in English. —No, you mustn't. You can't.—Should you become a pianist? the question echoes in Polish.—Yes, you must. At all costs. ... (Hoffman, 1989, p. 199)

How then is schizophrenia avoided in this dialogic mode of existence? Once a second identity takes a place alongside the first one, bilinguals—with great pain and effort, with losses and gains—learn to navigate between the two worlds, two ways of thinking, assigning distinct functions to each of them (Todorov, 1994) and “moving between them without being split by the difference” (Hoffman, 1989, p. 273). A good example of such navigating is provided by Wierzbicka (1994) in a recent study on the relationship between language, cognition, emotions and cultural scripts. The author, discussing her personal experiences of a Polish bicultural bilingual, living in Australia, states that emotional experiences cannot be separated from context. While her own daily emotions are usually perceived and interpreted in terms of lexical categories provided by Polish (e.g., *denerwuje sie*, approximately: I am making myself upset/ nervous/on edge), within an English-speaking context she often talks and thinks about her subjective experiences in terms of the lexical categories of the English language (such as upset, frustrated, resentful, annoyed, disgusted or happy) which do not have exact equivalents in Polish. Moreover, the category of emotion per se is treated differently by the two cultures; each comes with specific cultural scripts, behaviors and attitudes, thus, suggesting a different *interpretation* of emotional experience, which, in Wierzbicka's (1994) view, cannot be separated from the subjective experience itself.

These psycholinguistic adjustments are not, however, entirely unique; they are quite comparable to the sociolinguistic register change that continuously takes place in the most homogenous monolingual environment. Just like bilinguals, monolingual speakers shift attitudes when switching from office discourse to

friendly banter to family talk; change roles when discussing issues with their parents as opposed to their children; construct different subjectivities when dealing with different communities of practice. The only acute difference between the two modes of existence—monolingual and bilingual—is that in bilinguals' worlds some subjectivities and social identities may be incompatible and/or incomprehensible and need to be reconstructed in order to ensure full participation in discursive interactions of their new speech communities. At times, especially upon return or a visit to their countries of origin, these immigrant bilinguals ask themselves the unanswerable: what would have become of me here? what would my self and life look like? Some, like Hungarian-French-English trilingual Susan Rubin Suleiman (1993) are successful in the search for such a double:

Eva...teaches French literature at the university and has two other academic jobs as well.She's about my age, plumpish, attractive, with a friendly smile... she and I have become good friends.... Is it because she's very like what I might have become if I had stayed in Hungary? French professor, married with children. But would that have been an option for me, in fact? My mind boggles, trying to imagine all the unrealized possibilities (Rubin Suleiman, 1993, pp. 72, 141)

The issues presented above lead us to the discussion of the present situatedness of the bilingual authors in question: where are they now? how do they identify themselves? where are their allegiances? The notion of *where* is crucial for the genre in question, whose language is permeated by disjunctions: the authors talk of relocation, border crossing, discontinuity, displacement, duality, doubleness, disparity, speech dis-ease and schizophrenia, taking us into a new universe, entirely different from the one where all bilinguals, "compound" and "coordinate," "score the same." The language metaphor is also different in this universe: instead of "language acquisition," the authors talk about becoming- and being-in-language (the subtitle of Hoffman's (1989) novel is *A Life in a New Language*). The former metaphor stems from a universalist epistemology, implicitly suggesting that one's subjectivity is independent of language and hierarchically above it (the self is "in control;" it possesses the language); the latter, on the other hand, draws on relativist and postmodernist approaches, presenting languages as separate worlds which define and transform the self. Language is seen as "the place where our bodies and minds collide, where our groundedness in place and time and our capacity for fantasy and invention must come to terms" (Kaplan, 1994, p. 64).

All those who inhabit multiple discourses agree on their correspondence to multiple, often incompatible and incommensurable, worlds, delineated by the languages and cultures in question. To designate a passage between the two, an attempt to "transpose" or "transfer" meanings, or to describe the living experience of a bilingual person, the writers resort to the metaphors of translation and border crossing (Badowska, 1995). In search of their own, personal where and who, the displaced subjects find themselves on either side of the border, or, oftentimes, in

the borderland itself, “lost in translation,” condemned to live forever in a no man’s land of in-between. Some, like Wierzbicka (1997), will forever claim allegiance to their mother tongue and first culture:

I could say, therefore, that I am both a Pole and an Australian. To my ear, however, this would sound phoney. Although I am an Australian citizen, I don’t have two nationalities, as I don’t have two native languages. My native language is Polish and so is my native culture. (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 113)

Others are quite satisfied with “a home on the border:”

My history of multiple displacements—linguistic, religious, relational—makes displacement (and relocation) my strategy of survival. ...Often longing for a more singular and straightforward sense of identity and identification, I nevertheless embrace multiple displacement as a strategy both of assimilation and of resistance. (Hirsch, 1994, pp. 81, 88)

Others yet, like Rodriguez (1982), Young (1989), or Novak (1994), while acknowledging the doubleness, claim their “at homeness” within a new language and identify with the new culture, calling this “losing perspective” (Young, 1989). They are not who they were anymore, or, as Codrescu succinctly puts it: “I was once a Romanian and I translated myself into an American” (1989, p. 45). These feelings are also shared by Hoffman (1989) who, at the end of her long and painful journey, arrives at the realization that

This goddamn place is my home now...I know all the issues and all the codes here. I’m as alert as a bat to all subliminal signals sent by word, look, gesture. I know who is likely to think what about feminism and Nicaragua and psychoanalysis and Woody Allen. ...When I think of myself in cultural categories—which I do perhaps too often—I know that I am a recognizable example of a species: a professional New York woman...I fit, and my surroundings fit me. (1989, p. 170)

While some late bilinguals may be, like Todorov (1994), forever torn by the state of double vision and twin allegiance, others, like Brodsky (1989), Novak (1994) or Codrescu (1989), are quite comfortable and content:

I have lived in Romania the first nineteen years of my life—and I have been in America nineteen years. I stand at the precise crossroads of this life of mine, split in two temporal halves like a metaphysical grapefruit. Another image occurs to me—that of a man standing with one foot on one island and the other on another. But I give it no heed. On the contrary, I find myself oddly happy in my dual being (Codrescu, 1989, p. 296).

Testimonies of language/culture-related identity crises and victories, the “lan-

guage learning" narratives discussed above lead to several conclusions. First of all, they are evidence that a linguistic cross-over in adulthood is indeed possible and an adult can master a second language to a native degree, critical age notwithstanding (possibly except for phonology).

Establishing the possibility of such transition allows us to separate two important issues: being a native of a certain place versus having a native command of a language and a native place in a cultural space. While the authors presented above were born elsewhere and, depending on their personal histories, may forever claim allegiance to the place of their birth, they also undeniably belong in their second self-chosen world, not only as observers but as full-fledged participants. Moreover, often they occupy discursive spaces that are far from marginal, as is the case with many of the writers, and, in particular, Codrescu, professor of English at Louisiana State University, whose novels, poems, essays, films and running comments on National Public Radio have become an important part of contemporary American culture.

The "language learning" narratives also testify that languages are indeed separate worlds, which cannot be reduced to a simple *mentalese* expressed in various codes. However, for those of us who are monolingual and monocultural, these worlds are deceptively transparent and, thus, hidden and lost in this seeming invisibility. It is only when an attempt is made to enter a new world at will, that the limitations, boundaries and confines of both the new and the old become poignantly apparent. As Wierzbicka (1985) expressed in her article "The Double Life of a Bilingual:"

...it is not impossible (though very difficult) to leave the experiential world of one's native language for that of another language, or stretching the metaphor to the limit, to inhabit two different worlds at once. But when one switches from one language to another it is not just the form that changes but also the content. (Wierzbicka, 1985, p. 187)

The writing in the "language learning" genre also confirms the direct link between discourse and identity, providing an explanation for why cases of native acquisition of second language are rather rare. It becomes increasingly clear that it is not the memory task *per se* that is vexing; it is the "departure from oneself" that is ultimately the terrifying enterprise. Even when one has enough courage to embark on such a journey, the existence of one choice too many may lead many bicultural bilinguals to feel lost, disoriented, or suspended between the two languages like someone whose parachute has caught on two trees (Codrescu, 1989).

Most importantly, the narratives above allow me to suggest a new way of looking at the process of second language learning and to examine it as self-translation whereby the learner proceeds through losses to gains in an overwhelming attempt to become again a being-in-language. In this I side with Salman Rushdie, yet another bilingual writer, who once observed:

The word 'translation' comes, etymologically, from the Latin for 'bearing across.' Having been borne across the world, we are translated men. It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained. (1991, p. 17)

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NOTES

¹It is with greatest regret that, focusing on late bilingualism, I leave out the work by and on such great writers as Nabokov, Esteban, Beckett and many others, whose history of simultaneous bilingualism undoubtedly deserves a separate discussion (see Beaujour, 1989; Forster, 1970; Valenta, 1991).

²Undoubtedly, there are also those who, through the whole experience of living in exile, with preserve the original ethnic and cultural identity, making only minor concessions to outside pressure. In this case, however, the bilingualism with be mainly reduced to bi- or multicodalism (i.e., the speakers may speak more than one language, but the meanings will all be supplied by their native one).

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The Transfer of Native Language Speech Behavior into a Second Language: A Basis for Cultural Stereotypes?

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This paper examines the phenomenon of pragmatic transfer as a possible basis for cultural stereotypes. In this study data from L2 German learners of English are compared with data from native speakers of American English. The results suggest that the German English L2 speakers produced responses more in keeping with German rules of speaking and conventions of use than with American ones. L2 learners from a particular culture tend to follow the (often tacit) sociocultural norms of their L1, thus behaving more similarly to each other than to L1 native speakers. However, in communicative situations with native speakers, these L2 learners are judged by the norms of the target language culture, not by the norms of their L1. Target language native speakers rarely attribute misunderstandings or misinterpretations of illocutionary force and intent to L2 learners' adherence to different rules of speaking. This paper posits that recurrent transfer of different rules of speaking by L2 language groups may play a role in the formation of cultural stereotypes.

Cultural stereotypes, the tendency for people of one culture to characterize the members of different cultures in overly simplified or inappropriate terms, are widespread. Americans, for instance, often stereotype Germans as rude and aggressive and Japanese as meek and deferential. This paper argues that these cultural stereotypes arise in part from differences in sociocultural norms of communicative interaction. Cultures vary in the types of communicative strategies, the type of language, the functions of various speech acts, and all the other dimensions of interpersonal communication that are considered appropriate in given contexts (See e.g. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Boxer, 1993; Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; House, 1979; White, 1989). When speakers of different languages interact, they are quite aware of the fact that their native languages differ in terms of sounds and structures; at the same time, however, these speakers are usually unaware that sociocultural norms covering interpersonal communication often differ also. Unaware of these differences, native speakers are likely to misinterpret the intentions of nonnative speakers. Such behavior can then give rise to 'mutual negative stereotyping' (Tannen, 1989).

Second language learners do not automatically learn the sociocultural norms of speech behavior of the target language for a variety of reasons. One important reason is that most speakers of any language are not really consciously aware of

the rules of speaking, much less that these rules are very much culture-specific (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Hall, 1977; Loveday, 1982; S. Takahashi, 1996; Thomas, 1983; Wolfson, 1983). Part of the growing up process within any culture is learning the conventions of language use, that is, learning the appropriate sociocultural norms governing communication in that society; likewise part of learning a new language is learning new and different cultural norms—i.e., developing pragmatic competence (Blum-Kulka, 1982; Gass & Neu, 1996; Lakoff, 1979; Schmidt & Richards, 1981).

Seelye (1997, p. 64) suggests that stereotypes pose an interesting paradox in that while stereotypes are often terribly out-of-date or dangerously derogatory, they often do capture characteristics that are common to a particular culture. As Hall and Hall (1990, p. xiv) point out, members of the same culture not only share information, but they share methods of coding, storing and retrieving that information. Since members of one culture will not generally share all these same methods, cross-cultural interactions can lead to stereotyping, both negative and positive.

When nonnative speakers participate in communicative situations with native speakers, they are judged by the norms of the target language culture; native speakers rarely realize that misunderstandings may be due to nonnative speakers' adherence to different rules of speaking. Just as our cultural knowledge influences what we do, what we say and how we say it, so does our cultural knowledge act as a lens through which we interpret the behavior of others. And as nonnative speakers from another culture tend to adhere to the (often tacit) sociocultural norms of their native language, they will behave more similarly to each other than to native speakers of the target language—which behavior can then give rise to cultural stereotypes. In the same way that native speakers will recognize the accent of groups of speakers (e.g., she speaks with a French accent, or he has a Chinese accent), so too do native speakers come to identify certain behavior as 'Latino-like' or 'Arab-like' (Friday, 1989; Stewart & Bennett, 1991).

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the phenomenon of sociocultural or pragmatic transfer and the role this type of transfer may play in cultural stereotyping. Specifically, I address the question of pragmatic transfer into English by native speakers of German within the speech act of complaints. In this study I compare how native speakers of German complain in service settings in German, their native language, and in English, their second language, and how both these sets of data compare to data produced by native speakers of American English in the same situations.

PRAGMATIC TRANSFER

Interpersonal communication is as rule-governed as is our linguistic behavior (Gass & Neu, 1996; Gumperz, 1982; Lakoff, 1979; Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986). Lakoff (1979) suggests that interpersonal communication among all human be-

ings is controlled by universal deep structures, similar to those postulated by the theory of transformational grammar. The surface manifestations of interpersonal communication strategies, like individual languages, vary from culture to culture and person to person and result in culture-specific rules of communicative behavior. Speakers choose appropriate strategies by sizing up a communicative situation—the topic, status variables, relationship among interlocutors, etc. and then select the strategy judged culturally correct for the type of interaction the speakers believe themselves to be taking part in. In learning one's native language one also learns the acceptable ways of speaking in one's culture. Part of growing up is the socialization of individuals into their culture (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). When L2 learners speak another language, they will tend to behave according to the sociocultural appropriate norms of their native language rather than those of the target language, often regardless of their level of proficiency (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; T. Takahashi & Beebe, 1989).

Pragmatic transfer occurs when second language learners apply the socially appropriate rules and formulas of their native language to target language situations either because they are unaware of target language norms and routines, or because they are psychologically unable to do so because the L2 norms and routines violate their L1 internalized and culturally conditioned acceptable norms of speech behavior. As a result of such pragmatic transfer, misinterpretation of the message, the content or the intent of the message is possible. Such misinterpretations or misunderstandings when they occur consistently among same-language nonnative speakers, may give rise to cultural stereotypes.

One stereotype many Americans hold is that of the arrogant and brusque German (Hall, 1977; 1983; Hall & Hall 1990; Lakoff, 1979). Considered from a sociolinguistic perspective, I suggest that this stereotype arises at least in part from differences between culturally conditioned interactional routines preferred by Germans and Americans. In Lakoff's words:

Rather than saying to ourselves (unconsciously, of course), "Although he presents the appearance of arrogance, I don't consider him arrogant because that is normal behavior within the context of being a German, which he is," we say, "He's arrogant, but that's what I expect from someone who speaks with a German accent; they don't know any better . . . (1979, p. 69)

When second language learners participate in L2 communicative situations, they are judged by the norms of the target language culture and not according to the standards of their own native language culture.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The instrument used in this study to collect the data was the written discourse completion questionnaire. Such an instrument is an efficient means of

collecting information in that discourse completion questionnaires allow researchers to gather a large amount of data quickly, as well as allowing them to obtain important background data such as socioeconomic status, educational background, and geographic place of residence. It also permits researchers to gather more data on specific speech acts in specific settings than might be possible in an ethnographic approach (Cohen, 1996). This type of data collection instrument also allows nonnative speakers to prepare a good response. As noted by Eisenstein and Bodman (1986), L2 learners often become nervous and unsure of themselves when tested orally; thus a written method of data collection removes that element of anxiety and may therefore more closely reflect what the nonnative speakers would produce in spoken interactions. (See, e.g., Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Cohen, 1996; Rose, 1992; Wolfson et al., 1989 for further discussions on the use of discourse completion questionnaires).

Materials and Procedures

The data collection instrument used in this study was a discourse completion questionnaire with five situations. These five situations were designed so as to elicit complaints from respondents without actually using the word "complain." In order to control status and familiarity variables to some degree, all the situations involved service relationships, that is, an interaction between a customer or client and a "server." The same situations were used in both the English and in the German versions of the questionnaires.

The first situation involves a customer in a restaurant finding a hair in her/his soup. In the second situation a customer goes to pick up a coat s/he had brought to a dry cleaner for removal of a spot and discovers that not only is the spot gone, but also the color. In the third situation a patient is kept waiting in a doctor's office for over two hours. The fourth situation consists of a customer receiving a bill from a major department store with items on it that s/he had not purchased. And in the last situation a tenant whose oven is not working calls the building superintendent for the third time. Subjects were provided with a brief description of the situation, a brief introductory turn by the subjects' imaginary hearer, and then blank lines for the subjects' written responses:

You had a doctor's appointment at 3:00. It is now 5:15 and you are still waiting. You are very annoyed and you go to the receptionist.

Receptionist: "Yes?"

You: _____

The first conversational turn which is taken by the subjects' imaginary interlocutor was purposely kept brief. In the example above the reader will note that the receptionist says only "yes" as the initial turn. All of the initial conversational turns by the imaginary interlocutor are identical ("yes") except in the situation where the tenant calls the superintendent about the broken oven. In this situation the imaginary hearer, that is, the superintendent, says "hello" rather than "yes." The purpose of keeping the imaginary interlocutors' responses brief and nearly identical was to avoid unduly influencing subjects' responses. As is evident from the example, at no time are subjects actually instructed to complain; rather, subjects are forced to produce this speech act by the nature of the situation.

SUBJECTS

Data for this study were gathered from 100 subjects: 50 native speakers of American English and 50 native speakers of German. The subjects ranged in age from 16 to 22. The German subjects provided two sets of data: responses in English and responses in German. These subjects were asked first to complete the written discourse completion questionnaires in English, and then to complete another set in German. The subjects were purposely asked to complete the questionnaires in this order to minimize covert encouragement of transfer from their native language into their second language.

The Germans

The subjects were in their last or penultimate year of German college preparatory school (Gymnasium). They came from all different parts of what was formerly known as West Germany, and they had all studied English in school for 5-6 years, 2-5 hours per week. None of the subjects had ever lived abroad, although many had traveled to an English-speaking country, usually England, on vacation. All were participants in a year abroad program through AFS, an international exchange organization. The data collection took place during the subjects' second day in the US at an orientation prior to their departure to their host families around the country.

The Americans

The Americans were white college students at a small private liberal arts college in Westchester County, a suburb of New York City. The subjects came primarily from the greater metropolitan New York area, although a small number came from upstate New York and northwestern Pennsylvania. None of the participants had ever lived overseas and none spoke any language other than English.

DATA ANALYSIS

The tabulated data from all the respondents essentially fit into thirteen semantic categories, which was consistent with studies a colleague and I had under-

taken previously (DeCapua & El-Dib 1987; 1986; 1985). Of these I will discuss four categories that have the most relevance to our investigation into pragmatic transfer and cultural stereotypes: requests for repair, demands for repair, justifications, and criticisms. I focus on only these four of the thirteen total categories in that the results of the other nine categories are either not relevant to this particular discussion or had a very low frequency of occurrence (See DeCapua, 1989 for a complete discussion.)

Requests for repair and demands for repair

Requests for repairs are questions (and at times statements) that ask the hearer to remediate or redress the problem in some way. In the data from the American respondents, requests for repair were frequently questions or pleas incorporating modal verbs such as 'can,' 'could' or 'would.' Note that these forms are standard forms used in both English and German to make requests, requests which indirectly function as directives but yet appear polite by virtue of the verb form which is marked for indirectness and hence politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987) as in: (1a) Can you either get me in to see the doctor or make me another appointment? (1b) Could I get another bowl of soup?

The German respondents produced questions or pleas incorporating modals primarily in the restaurant situation where the diner finds a hair in the soup. This was true in both their English and their German responses. More common in the two sets of data produced by the Germans across all the situations was the use of a structure not found at all in the American English data, namely *bitte* 'please' plus the command form of the verb:

(2) *Bitte schauen Sie, daß Sie das so schnell wie möglich in Ordnung bringen.*

Please see to it that you fix this as soon as possible.

Table 1 shows that the Germans responding in German produced the most requests for repair (61%). The Germans responding in English and the American subjects produced almost the same percent of requests for repair, in 49% and 48% of the situations respectively.

Table 1: Incidences as % of Total Subjects/Situations

	Requests for Repair	Demands for Repair
German NSs	61	12
German ESL	49	20
American NSs	48	20

NS=Native Speaker ESL= English as a second language

In this table we see that demands for repair, in contrast to requests for repair, were relatively few across the data. Interestingly the German subjects produced more demands for repair in their English responses than they did in their German responses. When they did make their demands for repair in English, the German respondents generally made much stronger or direct demands for repair than they did when responding in German or than did the American English speakers.

I suggest two reasons for this; first what the Germans may have intended to convey in English and what they actually conveyed may well not have been the same. Second language learners simply do not have the same ability to manipulate the target language that native speakers do. As such these learners are likely to err in the actual intended pragmatic force of their utterances (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Beebe, et al. 1990; Blum-Kulka, 1982; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1993; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993).

A second reason for the difference in directness lies, I maintain, in pragmatic transfer; namely the German modal *müssen*, which technically compares to the English modal 'must' or 'have to,' encompasses a somewhat different semantic field and hence carries a different illocutionary or pragmatic force than does either English counterpart. As these German and English modals are not exactly interchangeable in all situations, Germans speaking in English and using 'must' or 'have to' where Americans expect 'should' or some other, less direct means of expression may unintentionally come across as sounding unusually demanding or even commanding to native speakers.

Let me elaborate on this point. In several instances the German respondents used *müssen* 'must/have to' where American English speakers prefer 'should.' This at times had the effect that the German subjects conveyed much stronger or more direct demands for repair than they probably intended to in their English responses. Consider for instance:

(3a) . . . You *must* pay for a new one.

(3b) . . . I think you *have to* give me a new appointment

In both (3a) and (3b) American speakers would have phrased their demands somewhat differently; e.g., substituting 'should' where the Germans used 'must' or 'have to:'

(3c) . . . You *should* pay for a new one.

(3d) . . . I think you *should* give me a new appointment.

For Americans 'should' softens the pragmatic force of a demand whereas 'must/have to' act as intensifiers that increase demands to command status. Although all the examples in (3) are demands for repair, there is a difference in the pragmatic force; the intensity or directness of the semantic content of the phrases is not identical. In American English 'must' when used in the sense of obligation (and to a somewhat lesser extent 'have to'), is a very strong modal auxiliary which conveys the idea of law or order. It implies that there is no possible or permissible alternative (Frank, 1972). In German *müssen* 'must' also carries this meaning of

obligation; in addition, however, it encompasses the notion of a milder obligation, that is, one in which there are other alternatives possible. This latter sense of German *müssen* is in English conveyed more appropriately by 'should' (Standwell, 1979).

Thus in American English when native speakers wish to express the idea of obligation with reference to responsibility or duty, they prefer to use 'should,' and when they wish to express the idea of obligation with reference to an order to law, they use 'must,' with 'have to' functioning as a sort of halfway point between 'should' and 'must' in terms of pragmatic force. When native speakers use 'should' they are allowing for the possibility of a rejection, but when they use 'must' they are exercising their authority vis á vis the hearer (Quirk et al., 1985). In short, in English a demand phrased with 'must' is significantly stronger and direct than one phrased with 'should.'

In German both of these meanings are part of the semantic field encompassed by *müssen*. L2 learners' pragmatic knowledge or understanding of the functional equivalence of target language and native language norms is often incomplete (Blum-Kulka, 1983; S. Takahashi, 1996). It is therefore not surprising that Germans, when speaking in English, will often use 'must' incorrectly and thereby impart a greater sense of directness or bluntness than they actually intended. As these speakers unintentionally violate American rules of speaking, their verbal actions provide impetus for cultural stereotyping of Germans as aggressive and commandeering.

Justifications

Justifications I define here as statements or phrases produced by respondents to defend, vindicate or lend support to their statement of problem and/or request or demand for repair. Overall, the German respondents produced more justifications in both their English and German responses than did the American respondents as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Incidence of Justifications as % of Subjects¹

	Sit#1	Sit#2	Sit#3	Sit#4	Sit#5
German NSs	10%	16%	44%	16%	44%
German ESL	17%	18%	34%	12%	40%
American NSs	0%	0%	20%	10%	30%

NS=Native Speaker ESL=English as a second language

of respondents illustrates another instance where pragmatic transfer may act in the creation and maintenance of cultural stereotyping. Since American speakers do not expect justifications, and certainly not justifications that appeal to duty or responsibility in these types of complaint situations, their reaction is most likely to be negative when speakers of German do furnish such justifications in such settings in English. Indeed an informal survey of native speakers of American English indicated to me that they almost uniformly interpreted such justifications as criticism, and inappropriately strong criticism at that. It seems that here we see again an example of how pragmatic transfer underlies native speaker perceptions that German speakers are more accusatory than is appropriate.

Criticisms

The last category I will discuss is criticisms, namely sentences or phrases that offer an evaluation of the problem or situation, as in:

(5a) **You've ruined my coat!**

(5b) I've been sitting here for two hours now. **You should have told me if there was going to be a problem** and I would have come back another time.
(criticism bolded)

The important element for a sentence or phrase to be labeled as 'criticism' is the element of reprobation or disapproval. A criticism is intrinsically a subjective (and negative) statement about the topic at hand. By its very nature a criticism is a face-threatening act, and in social interaction is expressed in a variety of ways depending upon the sociocultural norms governing criticism, as well as the goals and temperament of the speaker.

Table 3: Incidence of Criticisms as % of Subjects

	Sit#1	Sit#2	Sit#3	Sit#4	Sit#5
German NS	10	36	32	26	30
German ESL	8	48	28	22	34
American NSs	5	34	30	10	30

#1=customer finds hair in soup

#2=customer's coat is ruined at cleaner's

#3=patient has been waiting over 2 hours at doctor's office

#4=customer has received incorrect bill from store

#5=tenant has a broken oven that superindendent has not fixed.

In comparing the German and English data from the German respondents with the English data from the Americans, we find a qualitative difference in the tone and style of the criticisms. Compare for instance:

(6.1) Native speakers of German responding in German (criticisms bolded)

(a) *Sagen Sie mal, wie konnte denn das passieren? Sie sollten ja eigentlich mit dem Reinigen auskommen.*

How could this have happened? **After all, you're supposed to know how to handle the cleaning.**

(b) *Auf Sie kann man sich aber auch nicht verlassen.*

One really cannot depend on you.

(6.2.) Native speakers of German responding in English

(c) I'm waiting now for two hours and I think **that's not correct.**

(d) I'm sorry, but there is a hair in my soup. I think **this is not very good restaurant practice.**

(6.3.) Native speakers of American English

(e) I asked you to remove the spot and **now the coat is ruined.**

(f) I've asked you to fix it (the oven) several times and **you still haven't fixed it.**

From an American perspective the German subjects' English responses feel more blunt and/or make references to matters in a different way than Americans usually expect under such circumstances. Once again, cultural misunderstandings as to the intensity of the complaint, as well as to the intent, often arise. As I alluded to earlier, Germany is a society that places great emphasis upon doing what is 'right' and 'expected' of one (Ardagh, 1987; Clyne, 1984; Hall, 1983; Hall & Hall, 1990; Friday, 1989). Consequently German criticisms, like their justifications, often make reference to societal roles and expectations. To Americans, in contrast, such types of criticisms seem to be rather strong censure; there is not the same perceived need to adhere to strongly defined and felt societal norms of behavior (Althen, 1988; Stewart & Bennett, 1986). In fact, one of the things that strikes Americans when they are in Germany or working in the United States with Germans is the Germans' frequent use of such expressions as *Man tut das nicht* 'one doesn't do that/that isn't done' and *so wird es gemacht* 'that's the way it's done'/ 'that's the German way' (Hall & Hall, 1990; Friday, 1989). In Germany, a relatively homogeneous culture, it is quite acceptable and common to point out breaches in socially acceptable behavior by appealing to shared norms and expectations; in the United States, on the other hand, a much more heterogeneous culture, it is generally not acceptable to do so (Althen, 1988; Hall & Hall, 1990; Stewart & Bennett, 1984).

In sum, the question is not whether Germans are more critical, more commandeering, or more brusque than Americans. At issue is that German rules of

speaking accept, allow for, and indeed expect more and different types of criticisms and justifications than do the American norms. By the same token, different semantic fields encompassing modal choices and ways of expressing oneself in German can also prompt German learners of English to sound more direct, more accusatory or more blunt than is usually acceptable to Americans. Thus in communicative interactions between Americans and German speakers of English, Americans are likely to misinterpret German verbal behavior at times because each group of speakers is operating under different (and at times conflicting) rules of discourse. As such at least some of cultural stereotyping has its origins in pragmatic transfer.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to explore whether the source of at least some cultural stereotyping lies in pragmatic transfer. In other words, do differing socio-cultural norms of communicative interaction between native speakers and same-language groups of nonnative speakers influence cultural misunderstandings that then give rise to stereotypes? Specifically I examined how native speakers of German complain in service settings in English and in German, and compared these data with data from native speakers of American English. I focused on four semantic categories: requests and demands for repair, justifications and criticisms. The preliminary results indicate that the type and tone of the German responses differed from those of the American responses, such that cultural misunderstandings as to the directness and intent of the speakers are likely to result. As I have attempted to illustrate here, these cultural misunderstandings, when they occur consistently among groups of same-language nonnative speakers, can give rise to cultural stereotypes.

The data in this study indicate that Germans in English are generally more direct, that is, more aggressive and blunt than are Americans in similar situations. Some of the specific semantic response categories that they are likely to transfer are the more frequent use of strong criticisms, more justifications, and more direct requests. In considering the complaint response set, the data produced by the Germans in German indicate that they tend to prefer more direct and stronger types of utterances than do American speakers.

Many of these differences in directness may be due to different cultural perceptions as to the roles of speaker and hearer in service situations in German and American society. In German society, more emphasis is placed upon fulfilling one's obligations, doing what is "right," and in general adhering to well-defined societal expectations of behavior (Condon & Yousef, 1975; Hall & Hall, 1990). The type of complaints produced by the German subjects in the five service situations investigated here reaffirm these German societal attitudes. It is not only the fact that there is a problem that requires remedy, but it is as though the speaker is morally offended and morally obligated to point out to the hearer that that person has failed in doing his/her duty.

In American society, by contrast, there is more emphasis on the individual and appeal to the individual rather than to societal norms (Althen, 1988; Glenn, 1981; Sarles, 1988). A problem is not an offense against one's societal role or duty, but rather an offense against a person's individual rights; e.g., of property, or of time.

Further research, however, is needed to confirm these findings; the subjects were within a limited age group, and only five controlled complaint situations and only written data were examined. Further studies should combine a variety of elicited and ethnographic data collection methods in order to probe the role of pragmatic transfer in cultural stereotyping.

NOTES

¹E.g., in the German NS data 5 of 50 subjects used justifications in Situation #1. Therefore, the incidence is reported as $5/50 = 10\%$

²Note that in this cleaner situation the Americans produced no justifications at all.

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The Study of Cohesion in Schizophrenia: Theory and Application

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This paper promotes cohesion as one theoretical construct that realizes text and is helpful for the understanding of schizophrenic speech. It demonstrates the benefits rendered by cohesion analysis of schizophrenic speech and reports a study where cohesion analysis was applied to measure the efficacy of an antipsychotic medication (i.e., Clozapine) in treating refractory disorganized schizophrenics. The analysis was applied to a corpus of 22 interviews of two English speaking adults with disorganized schizophrenia, and 9 controls with no reported history of psychiatric disturbances. The central findings were that cohesion variables were sensitive to changes in the patients' psychiatric state, as induced by medication, and is helpful in understanding communication breakdowns in schizophrenia. The results support the notion that cohesion analysis is a viable approach to investigate the discourse of schizophrenics and other psychiatric populations.

In this paper I will argue, based on theoretical grounds, that cohesion analysis is one profitable method to study schizophrenic speech. I will then demonstrate the usefulness of cohesion analysis in case studies of two schizophrenic patients. The study will attempt to show the utility of cohesion analysis in understanding the patients' communicative deficits in conversation, the clinical diagnostic value of cohesion analysis, and the sensitivity of cohesion analysis to the effects of a neuroleptic on the patients' language use.

The study of the language of schizophrenics and of other psychiatric populations optimally requires an analysis that reveals the phenomena of the syndrome and that is therefore in accord with clinical and everyday understanding of how the speakers communicate. Such studies must therefore be broad in principle to cover the many possible aspects of language that contribute to the phenomenon as well as connecting language to its social context since it may be just this connection itself that is at issue. Given these broad objectives, however, studies must begin with some simplified model. The danger is that the simplified model will lead researchers or others to conclude that the products of the model adequately and comprehensively explain or even describe the phenomena. It is only when the model is derived from a theoretical approach that is consistent with the overall broad objectives of the investigation that the specific findings from the necessarily limited empirical studies can be interpreted correctly. As a research strategy, cer-

tain variables or sets of variables may be studied and then the analyses and conclusions integrated with other results. Throughout this endeavor, there should be attention given to both reliability and validity.

As the theory of systemic linguistics has specified, cohesion is just part of the story of how language makes sense in context. In particular, cohesion is just one way that coherence is realized in text and just one way that variation in language use can be documented. There are a number of ways to understand the variation in texts, and the concepts of code and register are two distinctions that are important for the study of schizophrenic language (Fine, 1995). However, I propose that the study of cohesion can be seen as one starting place for understanding schizophrenic language.

Cohesion analysis is one aspect that has its roots in systemic linguistic theory (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1985, 1994). The key concept for systemic theory is that language is operative in situation. It attempts to outline the resources that language has for the creation of all types of texts. Cohesion analysis can show how texts differ from each other, either across genre or register, or from one group of speakers to another. Cohesion is thus one part of this theory, realizing part of the texture of language in context.

The use of cohesion as a tool to understand discourse has been criticized by a number of researchers, most notably by Morgan and Sellner (1980), Carell (1982), Brown and Yule (1983), and Alverson and Rosenberg (1990). Following Brown and Yule (1983), Alverson and Rosenberg (1990, p. 175) suggest that understanding discourse is dependent on various kinds of mutual knowledge including: "what is not directly uttered," "situation," "beliefs about the other," and "social roles that individuals occupy that are relevant to what is being said." In other words, Alverson and Rosenberg (1990, p. 169) contend that cohesion analysis such as that conducted by Rochester and Martin (1979) provides "a very limited, fragmentary discourse analysis" which, in particular, "does not attend to the interpersonal dimension as fully as Halliday and Hasan [1976] appear to have intended" and "provides no basis for assessing the speech acts performed by the utterances examined, nor of the general management of discourse rules by the participants." Alverson and Rosenberg (1990) further point out that Halliday (1978) warns against using one part of the system out of its cultural, situational and intentional context. They then draw the conclusion (p. 172) that "cohesion analysis will yield useful results only if carried out in conjunction with all the other aspects of discourse analysis that Halliday's model prescribes." As an attempt to show the incompetence of the study of text based on cohesion analysis alone, Alverson and Rosenberg (1990, p. 176) present an example from Stubbs (1980) that is said to have "very little surface structure of cohesion as this is described in the Halliday and Hasan's [1976] scheme:"

Ch: question we put to you is do you agree with the unanimous view of the rest of us.

Bill: hmhmhm (*laughs*)

- Ch: he sees the joke
Roger: he daren't turn round
Bill: what are the what are the senior specification - clerks
Ch: [I'm sorry I
don't mean to - I don't really-
Dave: you can say they're coming through as [plant name] six
Ch: we have discussed this that's what I am saying
Bill: they're grade six
Dave: well - they're b. l. n. grading you see Bill
Bill: which is about
Which is equiv - they equate to grade six
Dave: yeah
Bill: well there isn't any ruddy option then is there
(laughter)
Ch: you're hap -seriously you're (long pause) - happy with
with six (long pause) - yeah all right
Bill: (.....) OK
Ch: OK the panel ratify this

Since this example is out of context, it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct all the cohesive ties. However, there are at least the following markers of cohesion: the exophoric references of “I,” “we,” “us,” “you” (15 instances in all); “they,” which is apparently a clear anaphoric link, probably to “the senior specification clerks” (4 occurrences), “well,” a continuative conjunction (3 occurrences), “grade,” which is lexically cohesive with “grading,” and “grade six,” which is used twice and is therefore an example of lexical cohesion. The exophoric references are relevant as Alverson and Rosenberg recognize (1990, p. 172), quoting Rochester and Martin (1979, p. 78): “for a text to be coherent, it must be situationally relevant as well as internally cohesive.” The list of cohesive markers is not yet exhaustive in this small extract. Cohesion may not capture all of what one may want to include in the concept *coherence*, but the passage cited cannot be used as an example of language that is coherent but with few cohesive markers. Notwithstanding the partial cohesion analysis, it is clear that much of the text coherence is dependent on the cohesive devices used.

Cohesion contributes part of coherence in that it signals, for example, what the speaker believes the listener can recover or reconstruct from the verbal or non-verbal context (Martin, 1992; Eggins, 1994) or from cultural information. (Also see Halliday and Hasan [1976, p. 5, 293] for detailed discussion of the realization relationship.) Cohesion is a good starting point in the sense that once cohesion is not required to carry the entire load of establishing coherence, the role of cohesion is established in accounting for one particular set of difficulties that schizophrenic speakers have in making their language interpretable in context.

Moreover, although the Rochester and Martin (1979) study was restricted to cohesion and other studies have followed this approach (e.g., Baltaxe & D'Angiola,

1992), the issue is one of research strategies or heuristics. And although cohesion analysis is only part of the picture, it has proved to be fruitful, and was relatively easy and reliable to code (Bartolucci & Fine, 1987). Cohesion analysis appears to be useful in identifying distinctions among populations with different types of communication deficits. It has been used to compare children with autism, specific language impairments, and normal language (Baltaxe & D'Angiola, 1992); to examine the language of patients with schizophrenia (e.g., Chaika & Lambe, 1989); and Alzheimer's disease (Ripich & Terrell, 1988). These studies and others (Rochester & Martin, 1977, 1979; Bishop & Adams, 1989; Caplan et al., 1993; Fine et al., 1994) have shown that quantitative and qualitative data on speakers' use of cohesion could shed light on social and cognitive abilities.

For example, it has been shown that the conversational performance of schizophrenic patients reveals that schizophrenics are incapable of sharing social reality that is accomplished through cohesive discourse (Rochester & Martin, 1977, 1979; Chaika, 1990). Schizophrenic patients create realities which are inconsistent or uninterpretable. As a consequence, interlocutors find it difficult to grasp the intended meaning. Rochester and Martin claimed that schizophrenic speech contains "an inconsequential following of side issues" (1977, p. 247), and thought-disordered patients exhibit an "occasional failure to produce coherent discourse" (1979, p. 177). Accordingly, the listener must struggle to uncover coherent messages in the unclear sequence of utterances produced by patients. Moreover, Fine (1991, 1995) suggested that an adequate account of conversation should be able to explain why the impairments in social functioning are related to the kind of conversation that is produced. For example, he suggested that the knowledge of specific relations between linguistic patterns and social functioning in psychiatric patients is important for the understanding of their social dysfunction.

In understanding schizophrenic speech, the position of the hearer is of great importance. Since hearers assume that speakers are only concerned with producing text, as opposed to non-text, the signals of texture, including cohesion, guide and confirm the status of an utterance as text. Text as a theoretical concept accounts for the interpretive process of hearers and the role of cohesion. The problem with the speech of atypical speakers is whether there are, in fact, signals (for example, the presence of unclear reference) that contradict the assumption of texture. In other words, the speaker's not using expected linguistic options leads the listener to assume that the speaker is not following the social and linguistic norms of what can be meant and how it can be meant.

The following passage is presented as an example of the language of a schizophrenic with a sample of a cohesion analysis. The patient (Lx) was a 23 year-old schizophrenic at the time of the study. He was interviewed by a staff psychiatrist in an inpatient ward of a general hospital. This excerpt is from near the beginning of the conversation the clinician had with Lx, one of the two case study subjects in this research:

- 1 I: What was the trouble then?
 2 L: What was the trouble then?
 3 I: Ya.
 4 L: Really the trouble then was just ah my kids were on the loose and they were running around and everything so I think I'll go back and put them all back in their houses, you know. All of them need to go right back in their houses.
 5 I: Do they?
 6 L: Ya everyone of them.
 7 I: How come?
 8 L: Well. Unless they're gonna come down here and work in a factory and that and ah help you and talk to you very nicely and that. Well then, they can go back to the factory and that. I mean this all happened back like in 19 ah 50 ah 9 it was. When the ladies were taking hormone pills. eh?
 9 I: Oh ya.
 10 L: If I'm not mistaken.
 11 I: Um hmm.
 12 L: And ah. it was a back ah ya in fifteen hundred when they took the pills actually And it created some kind of organism and things like this, you know. The kids they're all actually fine, you just gotta know how to talk to the kids an ah how to associate things with the kids, right? Like you separate a school building and keep the girls on this half you keep the boys in this half. And if you never criss-cross school then you run into all kinds of problems [turn continues].

Turn	Cohesion marker	Cohesion analysis
1	then	- anaphoric reference to a time period mentioned earlier in the interview
2	what...trouble then?	- exact repetition of question in (1). This is a type of cohesion; however, weird.
4	the trouble then my kids they so I, I'll and them their houses them their houses houses	- anaphoric reference "the;" also (utterance repetition) - as in utterance (1) - exophoric, first person speech role - anaphoric reference to "my kids" - consequential conjunction - exophoric, first person speech role - additive conjunction - anaphoric reference to "kids" - anaphoric reference to "kids" but perhaps unclear since "kids" may not have their own houses - anaphoric reference to "my kids"? - anaphoric reference to "my kids"? - lexical repetition

Turn	Cohension marker	Cohesion analysis
6	ya them	- clausal ellipsis related to the clause in (5); i.e., "ya they do" - anaphoric reference to "they" in (5)
8	well they here a factory that you well then they the factory factory I this it the ladies	- continuative conjunction - anaphoric reference to "them" in (6), and ultimately to "my kids"? (the reference chain has become quite long without an intervening full nominal group, so the identity of the referent is becoming unclear) - exophoric, non-speech role referent to the location of the speaker - non-phoric nominal group - probably not phoric but a vague continuant (cf. "and so on") - a generalized reference, not specific to the interlocutor - continuative conjunction - temporal or consequential conjunction - anaphoric reference to "they" ("my kids") - unclear, possibly not referring to the factory mentioned earlier in the turn - lexical repetition - exophoric, first speech role - unclear - unclear - unclear as definite phoric, perhaps generically refers to class of "ladies"
10	I	- exophoric, first speech role
12	it they took	- non-phoric - unclear or ambiguous: "ladies," "they" (referring back to "my kids"), disambiguated by remainder of clause - lexical repetition of "taking" in (8)

Turn	Cohesion marker	Cohesion analysis
12	<p>the pills</p> <p>pills</p> <p>and</p> <p>it</p> <p>some kind of organism</p> <p>things like</p> <p>this</p> <p>the kids</p> <p>kids</p> <p>you</p> <p>the kids</p> <p>they</p> <p>things</p> <p>the kids</p> <p>you</p> <p>a school building</p> <p>the girls</p> <p>this half</p> <p>you</p> <p>the boys</p> <p>this half</p> <p>and</p> <p>you</p> <p>school</p> <p>then</p> <p>you</p> <p>problems</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - anaphoric reference - lexical repetition - additive conjunction - unclear - non-phoric - unclear, perhaps a vague continuant (cf. "and so on") - exophoric reference - anaphoric reference to some group mentioned earlier? - lexical repetition - generalized reference - unclear, anaphoric reference to "the kids" in previous clause, or another set of kids, or a generic reference to the class of "kids" - anaphoric reference to "the kids" - general word, non-phoric - see previous analysis of "the kids." Each subsequent use of "the kids" compounds problem of interpretation - exophoric, second person speech role, or generalized reference - non-phoric - bridging reference to students in a school - ellipsis from "this half of a school building" - unclear reference for "this," possibly exophoric - see previous analysis of "you" - bridging reference to students in a school - see previous analysis of "this half" - additive conjunction - see previous analysis of "you" - non-phoric nominal or generic reference to the class of schools - temporal or consequential conjunctive - a generalized exophoric reference not specific to the interlocutor - lexical repetition

This analysis of a few turns shows the detail revealed by a cohesion analysis. In fact, this sample analysis is not exhaustive since some instances of lexical cohesion and some conjunctions have been omitted from the discussion. What emerges from the analysis is the determination of what specific signals become difficult to interpret and how the cumulative effect of unclear or ambiguous signals make the speaker's contributions to the conversation increasingly difficult to follow, especially as the conversation unfolds in real time.

As seen from the above example, listeners engage in much interpretive effort to find coherent messages in highly fragmented, opaque utterances. The study of cohesion then helps determine what kind of effort is needed for interpreting an utterance and how successful that effort will be. For example, low levels of unclear reference (say 3% of nominal groups) are not very disruptive whereas higher levels (of perhaps 10% or more, depending on the situation) may be quite disruptive. It is such quantitative findings that cohesion analysis leads us to.

THE STUDY

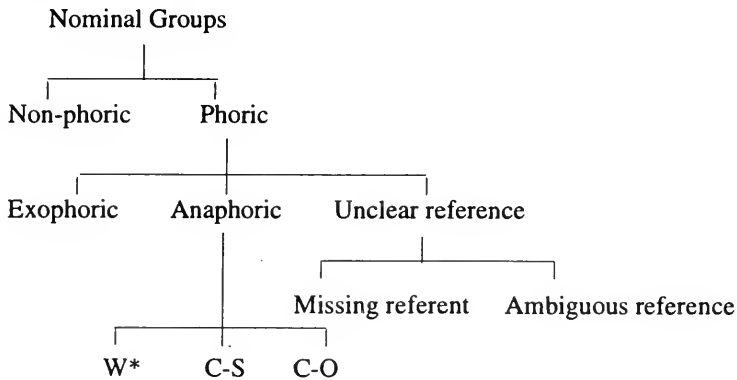
The present study examines changes in the ability of two adult English-speaking schizophrenics to develop a reciprocal social conversation by building on their interlocutor's communication, prior to and following medication (i.e., Clozapine). It assesses the usefulness of examining the use of some cohesion variables to understand the communicative deficit of schizophrenic discourse and its sensitivity to the effects of Clozapine. More specifically, this study attempts to describe the variation in conversation pre- and post-medication, and relates that variation systematically to the social construction of reality through conversation. It also seeks to ascertain if the patient's communication is difficult to understand because of the inappropriate use of referring signals to convey meaning. For the purpose of the current study the analysis will be confined to one aspect of cohesion; that is, to the use reference (i.e., *phoricity*).

Phoricity is a category of cohesion that signals what information from another stretch of language or from the non-linguistic physical context is needed to interpret the current stretch of language (e.g., by retrieving referents for *he*, *she*, *that*, etc.). If the information is not available, then the hearer must make an inference or be left with an inadequate understanding of the text. Although phoricity does not give an exhaustive picture of the person's mastery of cohesion, there is evidence that phoricity constitutes a major portion of cohesive devices used in conversation of both normals and abnormals (Liles, 1985). Also, Rochester and Martin (1979) found that phoricity accounts for the specific problems in schizophrenic language. They showed that schizophrenics tend not to use verbal encoding with high reference to the immediate environment; i.e., to information found in their real/unreal physical world, and that phoricity is helpful to understanding problems of presenting and presuming information.

Figure 1 outlines the hierarchy of linguistic devices used as measures in this

study. A phoric noun phrase is interpreted by reference to another noun phrase or to the non-verbal context, hence, these phrases produce cohesively related items. A non-phoric noun phrase, however, does not contribute to cohesion via reference, since it does not set up a phoric link. A non-phoric noun phrase does not require information other than its own meaning to be understood. For example in "... *I just had birth, natural birth of my father and mother* ...," "birth" is completely interpretable on its own, whereas "my father and mother" (a phoric group) sends the listener to the context (in this case outside the text) to discover the identity of "my" and thus makes the nominal group "my father and mother," interpretable. So, nominals which are overwhelmingly non-phoric create texts that are disjointed.

Figure 1: Hierarchy of linguistic measures used as references



*W = Within speaker's own turns; C-S = Across speaker's own turns;
C-O = Across turns of the other speaker

The subtypes of the phoric nominal groups can be classified in terms of the location and the quality of the antecedent information. The subtypes are:

1. **ANAPHORIC REFERENCES** are those for which the antecedent information is found in some preceding stretch of language. That is, the listener must find some piece of language in the preceding co-text to interpret the nominal group in question. For example, in the following excerpt:

- I : why? what happened to the family? (*long pause*) you said that you have brothers and sisters, what else?
- M: eh... I know...one day I'm going to escape. I know that **they** all have problems, yes, everybody has problems, that's why I don't love **them**. Do you understand? (*raising his voice*)

The pronouns "they" and "them" point the listener back to "*brothers and sisters.*" Anaphoric references were classified as linking to language that the patient him-

self contributed, within (W) and across (C-S) speaker's own turns, or to that of the interviewer (across turns of the other speaker [C-O]).

2. EXOPHORIC REFERENCES are those for which the antecedent information is found in the real/unreal concrete world of the participants. For example, in "*how are you finding it here*," "*you*" and "*here*" direct the listener to examine the physical circumstance to make these words interpretable.

3. UNCLEAR REFERENCES are of two types: ambiguous and reference with a missing referent,

a. AMBIGUOUS REFERENCES refer to anaphoric references that have two or more possible antecedents in the text and therefore leave the listener unsure of the speaker's message. For example, in the example below the pronoun "*they*" has "*Mormons kids*," "*million phonies*," and "*golfers*" as possible candidate referents. Such multiplicity of referents makes the reference "*they*" unclear and difficult to interpret.

38 L: And in other words, you know there was all kinds of things that happened back then and there was a lot of **Mormons kids** molested family's separating and dividing off, you know how a family tree works. You have no idea how.

39 I: Ya ya

40 L: Oh ya definitely. I guess you do know (xx) and ah you know there's there's a **million phonies** out there really but **they're all they're all pretty good golfers** and that you know they like to play golf and ah.

b. REFERENCES WITH MISSING REFERENTS are ones that have no antecedent available. For example, in the excerpt presented below the pronoun "*we*" (2 occurrences) was not retrievable from the context and hence is uninterpretable.

95 I: Ya, you like kids?

96 L: Ya, I love kids and I went home and I tried to get the pole in so **we** could get them across the rail and get 'em down to the Montreal school and I think **we** only grabbed about seven of the kids.

In sum, this study seeks to show how the analysis of the utilization of phoricity in conversations helps reveal the communicative deficits in schizophrenic discourse, and the effectiveness of a neuroleptic given to disorganized schizophrenics. If the neuroleptic Clozapine is said to influence the cognitive processes underlying language (Burke et al., 1995), its effects are expected to be reflected in the use of phoricity.

METHOD

Subjects

The two patients (Lx and Mx) participated in the study and were diagnosed, according to the DSM-IV (Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders), as disorganized schizophrenics suffering from disorganized speech, disorganized

behavior, and inappropriate affect. Patients of this type of schizophrenia, as indicated by the DSM-IV, have neuropsychological and cognitive impairments which are believed to be the reason for their inability to relate to the content of speech. The patients, Lx and Mx, were 23 and 24 years old, respectively. Both are single male (i.e., not married) native speakers of English. They were treated with Clozapine after a long period of treatment with other neuroleptics. Lx had been treated with six neuroleptics and Mx with five, with no significant improvement. Prior to the administration of Clozapine the patients went through a wash-out period of three weeks, to eliminate possible medication residuals. During their treatment with Clozapine, no other neuroleptics were used.

The neuroleptic Clozapine is used for the treatment of patients with refractory (resistant to medication) schizophrenia (Kane et al., 1988; Breier et al., 1994; Rosenheck et al., 1997). Reports indicate that Clozapine is useful for the treatment of chronic schizophrenia in adolescents and adults who do not respond to adequate treatment with typical neuroleptics or who do not tolerate their side effects (Brimaher et al., 1992; Gonzales & Michanie, 1992). Clozapine is expected to improve the cognitive abilities of the patients, and "its effect is regarded as normalizing" (MEDIC, 1993, p.38), both behaviorally and communicatively. Clozapine may be helpful for several subtypes of schizophrenia, including the disorganized type (Burke et al., 1995; Levkovitch et al., 1995). Both studies report that the resolution of negative symptoms of their patients with Clozapine treatment was associated with improvements in cognitive abilities such as concentration, memory, and the ability to learn. Goldberg et al (1993) report that Clozapine is more effective than other neuroleptics in reducing conceptual disorganization and disorganized speech. Clozapine has also been reported by Kane et al. (1988) to be more effective than standard drugs in reducing the negative symptoms of schizophrenia. However, medication effects on everyday use of language are virtually unexplored and the few existing psychopharmacological studies have yielded contradictory findings. For example, Green and Salzman (1990) report that behavior and affect are usually improved by Clozapine, while fragmented speech and bizarre thoughts are unaffected.

Procedure

Speech samples for the patients were gathered in a hospital ward from two clinical interviews: prior to and following the medication treatment. The speaker is thus used as his own control. The patients were given 0.6 mg/kg (their stabilization dose) of Clozapine before the medication interviews. The language data of the post-medication interviews were collected four weeks after the medication treatment was initiated, and one hour after the dose was given to achieve maximum medication effect (Stern et al., 1994).

Interviews of approximately 25 minutes were conducted with the patients and audiotaped. The interviewer was a clinical psychologist blind to the specific nature of the study. The interviewer was instructed to make sure that each inter-

view dealt with the following topics: school, family, hobbies, vacations and hospital, yet to allow the patients plenty of opportunities to initiate topics, to follow the patients' lead in the conversation, but to request clarification when necessary. This direction was to assure a natural flow of the conversation. The physical environment where the interviews took place and instructions were similar for both interviews and conducted by the same interviewer. Transcripts of these interviews were made in standard orthography and then coded, the first time for the various subtypes of phoricity by the researcher, and recoded after six weeks for intra-rater reliability ($\alpha=.96$). Coding of these linguistic variables is very reliable (as reported, e.g., in Bartolucci & Fine, 1987; Rochester & Martin, 1979) and does not involve significant clinical judgment.

Additional data were gathered from nine volunteers, mean age 26.4 years ($SD = 4.78$), ranging from 22 to 32, from the same community as the patients. The conversations were held in the participants' homes. Though the data on normal subjects was gathered in the subjects' homes, and not in a hospital ward, they are still viewed to be similar since the interviews were conducted in the subjects' immediate environment. All nine normal subjects are native speakers of English with no reported history of psychiatric disturbance in themselves or in first degree relatives. The normal control subjects were matched to the patients with respect to parental, social, and economic status using the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index. The data for normals was collected through interviews by the same clinical psychologist following the same instructions as for the schizophrenics' interviews. Like the schizophrenics, each member of the normal controls was interviewed twice, with four weeks intervening between interviews.

Though all interviews for both schizophrenics and the normal control group related to the same topics, the questions were not always the same. In cases where similar questions were used by the interviewer in both sessions, it was believed that the four-week difference between the interviews would minimize the effect of repeated questions and allow for a fair comparison between the respective groups. The amount of time spent on each topic was not restricted either for patients' or for normals' interviews in order to minimize artificial constraints on the flow of conversation (Labov & Fanshel, 1977).

Analysis

To account for different amounts of speech, the phoricity variables were calculated as proportions relative to the different types of nominal groups as denominator. For example, the number of phoric nominal groups per 100 nominal groups spoken in the 25-minute speech sample was calculated for each patient as well as for each participant in the control group. Similarly, the number of unclear references and anaphoric links per 100 nominal groups were calculated when assessing the types of phoric links made. Anaphoric references across and within clauses, within and across the speakers' own turns, as well as across turns of the other speaker were calculated as a proportion of all anaphoric references. This

encoding of within-speaker or across-speaker links in language may be related to cognitive issues such as focusing as well as communication effectiveness (Fine, 1988). It should be noted that calculating the cohesion variables in terms of the linguistic units is more revealing than calculating cohesion per unit of language production (see Bartolucci & Fine, 1987; Fine et. al, 1994).

As for the data obtained from normals, the mean average of the relative types of cohesion variables, standard deviation and confidence limits at a 95% probability level were calculated. Matched-sample t-tests revealed no significant differences between the normals' first and second interviews for all variables at $\alpha=.05$ level of significance. The calculations obtained characterize the distribution of normals' behavior against which patients' pre- and post-treatment usage can be compared. Interview means which fall outside the 95% confidence intervals suggest behavior significantly different from the age-matched control.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results are presented as a series of analyses of the various phoricity variables that proceed from the most general to the most specific. Table I presents analyses of the cohesion variables. The probabilities reported for the cohesion variables are viewed in terms of the change in use from pre- to post-treatment with respect to the confidence limits (0.95) of the normal subjects.

Table I shows that the patients and the normals used phoric and non-phoric nominal groups equally often, and no significant differences were observed. Clozapine has no effect on the utilization of these cohesive measures. It is the relative frequency of the various types of cohesive links that enables us to learn more about the effect of medication on the utilization of cohesive devices and the construction of language by schizophrenics.

Rochester and Martin (1977) suggested that speakers guide listeners to select precise referents of phoric noun phrases. They further claimed that the speaker's guidance could be either artful or misleading; a phoric noun phrase could be accurately identified provided that the speaker properly and effectively signaled what is required to interpret the noun phrase. The violation of the listener's expectation of appropriate reference yields language that is difficult to understand, as can be seen from the following excerpt and analysis of speech from schizophrenic subject Mx (based on Fig. 1):

- 1 I : what sorts of things make you angry?
- 2 M: when people try to tell you what to do
- 3 when you know what to keep yourself healthy and happy
- 4 who care about money I sure as hell don't
- 5 you see a wino on **this street corner** and you think he wants
- 6 **her** (pause) right? **It** just has to be **her**.
- 7 I : so does money make you angry?
- 8 M: No. Just those people lying on the streets. That's all.

Table I: Analysis of Cohesion Variables

	Schizophrenic subjects				Normal Subjects (N=9)			
	Prem	Mx	PostM	Lx	Mean	SD	Confidence limits (.95)	
(a) Mean number of phoric and non-phoric nominal groups per 100 nominal groups								
Phoric	78	74	86	82	76.6	7.3	68.3	89.9
Non-phoric	22	26	14	18	23.4	4.6	13.4	27.6
Total number of groups classified for each interview					453			
	463	435	466	488				
(b) Mean number of specific types of phoric groups per 100 phoric nominal groups								
Anaphoric	42*	54	46*	61	68.4	8.5	51.8	85.1
Exophoric	48*	34	45*	29	29.5	3.9	18.8	36.3
Unclear	10*	12*	9*	10*	2.1	1.6	0.6	3.4
Missing referent	6*	7*	6*	7*	1.9	1.6	0.3	4.6
Ambiguous	4*	5*	3*	3*	0.2	0.3	0	0.7
Total number of phoric groups classified					347			
	361	321	401	400				
(c) Percentage of anaphoric references								
Within speaker's own								
turns (W)	14*	45	87*	44	46.7	7.60	31.8	61.6
Across speaker's own								
turns (C-S)	8	23*	7	11	9.8	3.41	6.6	17.1
Across interviewer's								
turns (C-O)	78*	32	6*	45	43.5	8.18	28.8	53.6
Total number of anaphoric groups classified					237			
	151	173	184	244				

Note: * indicates values which are not within the confidence limits

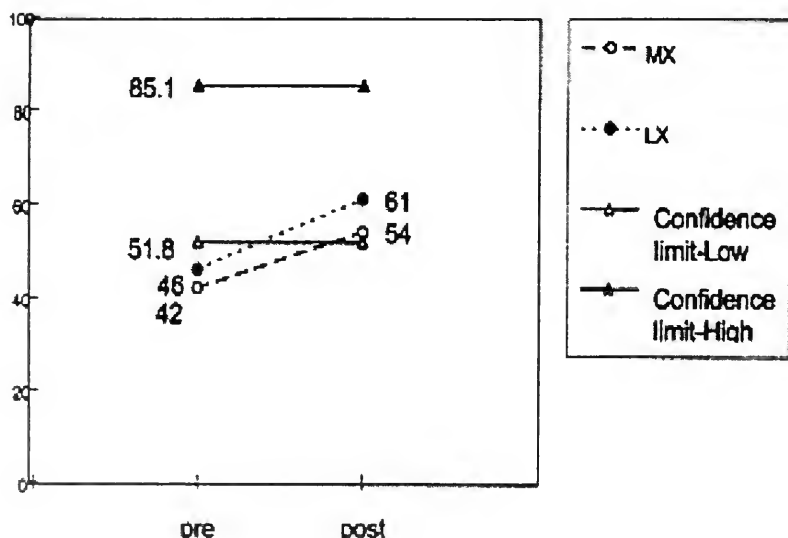
Turn	Cohesion Marker	Cohension analysis
2	people you	- exophoric reference - generalized exophoric reference, not specific to interlocutor
3	you yourself	- same as "you" in (2) - generalized exophoric reference, not specific to interlocutor, but a reference to interlocutor is also possible here
4	money I	- non-phoric - exophoric, first speech role
5	you a wino this this street corner you he	- same as "you" in (2) - generic reference, non-phoric nominal group - exophoric reference - unclear reference, possibly exophoric - same as "you" in (2) and (5) - anaphoric reference to "a wino"
6	her it	- unclear reference - unclear reference; perhaps anaphoric to situation described by the patient
8	those people the streets that's	- unclear, possibly exophoric - anaphoric reference "the" (lexical repetition, but infringement of part-whole; i.e., street [line 6] vs. streets, makes it somewhat vague) - anaphoric reference to what M has said in lines (2-6) and (8)

In examining anaphoric references, Table I shows that both patients, in their pre-medication state, have differed from normals. However, under medication the patients, as can be seen in Figure 2, responded positively to Clozapine, and entered the range of the normals' confidence limits ($p(51.8 < \mu < 85.1)$).

These findings, as we might expect, are mirrored in the results for the exophoric nominal groups. Both schizophrenic patients before medication differed from normals in that they referred more often to the physical world and less often to previous text in conversation. This problem tends to make it difficult to build a

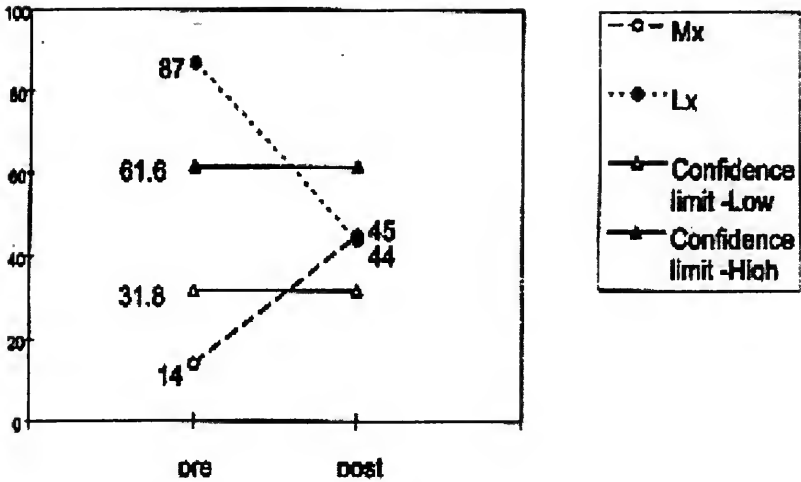
reciprocal conversation, since to a large extent, reciprocity is built by referring to previous conversation, not by referring to the physical environment. Similar results were obtained by Rochester and Martin (1977) with schizophrenic patients and by Fine et al. (1994) with individuals with pervasive developmental disorders; however, in these studies, medication effects were not examined.

Figure 2



A reciprocal conversation also requires that the interlocutors co-operate in the construction of the dialogue. For example, semantic continuity develops via cohesive chains that have antecedents in the speakers' earlier stretch of language. Fine (1994) suggested that skilled conversationalists employ conversational cohesion that tends to be based on the same speaker's own prior language. Moreover, Fine (1994) reported that the conversational performance of psychiatric patients lacks within-speaker continuity. Thus, a finer level of analysis of the use of anaphoric references within the speaker's own turns (W), across turns (C-S), and across turns of the other speaker (C-O) could be helpful to measure the patient's cooperative-

Figure 3



The data on anaphoric links within the speakers' own turns, as presented earlier in Table I, also show that both patients have improved under medication. This suggests that the speakers are placing the anaphoric links within the semantic range of the listener, which in turn facilitates the listener's task of retrieving the information intended by the speakers. The subjects were better able to utilize general verbal processing skills and to construct a social conversation by adjusting the meaning of their contribution to prior meanings mutually constructed. That is, with medication, both patients, as can be seen from Figure 3, are closer to the typical balance of normal speakers found in other studies. For example, Martin and Rochester (1979) found that schizophrenic speakers who are not thought-disordered behaved essentially as normal speakers, only more conservatively. Clozapine thus proved effective in balancing the contributions of the patients vis-à-vis those of the interlocutor in building a mutually constructive conversation.

Similar results have been obtained for anaphoric references in the patient's speech referring to the clinician's turns. In the post-medication interviews both patients entered the range of the normals' confidence limits, ($p(28.8 < \mu < 53.6)$). The patients, however, differed in their use of anaphoric references across their own turns; i.e., anaphoric (C-S). For Mx, Clozapine has resulted in a significant deterioration. In his pre-medication interview, 8% of his anaphoric (C-S) references referred to information he himself mentioned in earlier turns. However, in his post-medication interview 23% of his anaphoric references that were C-S ref-

erences are outside the normals' confidence limits range ($p(6.6 < \mu < 17.1)$). In fact, Mx sounded rather repetitive, and often referred to earlier parts of the conversation which were not necessarily related to the topic at hand, as the following excerpt shows:

10 I : what do you mean when you say that you don't love your family?

11 M: eh... I want to go, go out, but I can't, I'm (*no sign of continuation*)

Then, nine turns later Mx unexpectedly gives supplementary information to the answer elicited in (10) and expected in (11) when he ought to be answering a Wh- question initiated by the psychiatrist in the 19th turn:

19 I : how many brothers and sisters do you have?

20 M: yes, and...I didn't..., I don't love my family.

21 I : why? what happened to the family? you said that you have brothers and sisters, what else?

22 M: eh... I know...one day I'm going to escape. I know that they all have problems, yes, everybody has problems, that's why I don't love them. Do you understand?
(*raising his voice*)

This kind of delayed reactions to questions posited by the interviewer were somewhat frequent. Of the total responses provided by Lx 8% were delayed responses. 6% of Mx's answers were delayed; i.e., in nonadjacent turns. This may indicate the patients suffer from some temporal processing, rather than social infringement of conversational norms, since both patients are trying to be cooperative.

On the other hand, Lx was virtually unaffected by medication on this variable. Based on these findings, however, we cannot determine whether this difference reflects idiosyncratic response to the medication or is indicative of the diagnostic subtype. There may be other differences between patients that are reflected in more delicate analyses of reference.

Unclear references are virtually never used by normal speakers. The data presented in Table I for unclear references, however, show that both patients failed to provide their hearers with interpretable references to a considerable extent. Indeed, instances of cohesive weakness demonstrated violations of the listeners' expectations of appropriate reference rather often. On an average, both patients used unclear references for 11% of the total phoric links in both pre- and post-medication interviews, which suggests an absence of medication normalization effect, compared to about 2%, ($\mu = 1.6$; $p(0.6 < \mu < 3.4)$), of unclear references uttered by the group of normals. As a consequence, the interlocutor had difficulty grasping the continuity of meaning introduced by the patients. The locus of the problem stems mainly from an excessive use of unclear and exophoric references, as can be seen from the following excerpt:

- 41 I: Do you know any phonies?
 42 L: Do I know any phonies?
 43 I: Ya
 44 L: Noo
 45 I: You don't
 46 L: No I don't know any phonies. There's a kina kid. He is on the loose and ah I don't think he's a phony, **he** may have an operation or a factory or something and I gotta go down and see what the college is up to too if the college wants to turn a tube on **themselves** so we can see **them**, I don't mind. But ah I'm not a camera shy, you know. OK, so anyway getting on the basic ah subject of the pill that **they** took back then it was back in 1959 and ah we don't know who the ones that were ordered to take the pills and who were the ones that haven't taken the pills
 [Ya
 47 I:
 48 L: And also if if corrected by ah small organism called lice
 49 I: Hmm hmm
 50 L: They're about this big.
 51 I: Ya
 52 L: And they're just well actually they're snails is what they are if corrected by the worm in the Phoenix area then ah things will be OK you know. And ah worms and minnows and fish, I mean **we** could tell you millions of fishin stories, **it's** more out west but
 [From Phoenix?
 53 I:

The bold-faced pronouns in the above excerpt are examples of unclear references. These are references for which there is either no antecedent at all, or the antecedent is difficult to establish. So for example, the pronoun *he* in segment 46 can be seen as an anaphoric reference referring to the *kid*, however, it is unclear since the kid may not have his own factory.

References with missing referents accounted for 7%, on average, of the total 11% of unclear references. Similar findings were found in Rochester and Martin (1977) for thought disordered schizophrenics. They found that in interviews thought disordered schizophrenics used unclear references 9% (7% were references with missing referents) of the total noun phrases compared to only 3% used by normals. The results, then, appear to suggest that normal speakers make the listener's task easy by using explicit verbal references as can be seen from the following excerpt and analysis of data from one of the normal subjects:

- 1 I: And what are you gonna' do in San Francisco?
 2 Y: Well, we, me and my mom, gonna rent an apartment there for, about ... about
 3 three months I think, and hm hm
 [And why do you have to stay there for three
 4 I: months?
 5 Y: I have to be there with her. She'll need my help, going to tests and all that.

6 I: Oh I see. Do you find it hard to do that?

7 Y: Not really. But you know, there are bad days and good days.

Turn	Cohesion marker	Cohesion analysis
2	we me my mom an apartment there	- exophoric (first speech role) - exophoric (first speech role) - exophoric (first speech role) - non-phoric nominal group - anaphoric to "San Francisco"
3	three months I	- non-phoric nominal group - exophoric (first speech role)
5	I there her she'// my help tests all that	- exophoric (first speech role) - anaphoric to "San Francisco" - anaphoric to "my mom" - anaphoric to "my mom" - exophoric reference (first speech role) - non-phoric nominal group - anaphoric to situation mentioned in current utterance of which "help" and "test" compose some of its components
7	you there days days	- exophoric reference, specific to interlocutor - anaphoric reference to "bad days and good days" - non-phoric nominal group - non-phoric nominal group (also lexical repetition)

Schizophrenics, however, seem to pose a profound problem for the listener: no matter how long the listener searches, he/she will be unable to identify many of the unclear references provided by the patients considering that conversations are held and conducted within "real time." That is, schizophrenics fail at abnormally high rates to build coherent meaningful units of text with their interlocutor due to the use of unexpected cohesion, and the violation of usual probabilities of cohesive devices in conversation.

All in all, both patients showed stable utilization of phoric references which may be less important in its psychological implication. Anaphora, on the other hand, appeared to be a more sensitive indicator of medication effectiveness (see Figures 2 and 3). Unclear references revealed one of the major sources for the bizarreness produced in schizophrenic speech. The large percentage of unclear references (11% as opposed to only 2% for normals) poses for the listener many difficulties for "deciphering" the intended reference. The variation in the quality of the conversational cohesion could be a consequence of changes in the patients'

social and cognitive abilities such as lack of sensitivity to the listener's needs, and changes in medication state.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study suggest that Clozapine produces both quantitative and qualitative changes in the spontaneous use of language by disorganized schizophrenics in their conversations with interlocutors. The most noticeable positive changes induced by Clozapine in the conversations of both schizophrenics included:

- (i) some normalization in the utilization of anaphora and exophora;
- (ii) greater within-speaker dependency in the use of anaphoric references, indexed by uses of anaphoric (W) references; and
- (iii) greater conversation reciprocity with interlocutor, indexed by anaphoric (C-O) references.

An absence of medication effects was also observed:

- (i) Clozapine has no effect on the use of unclear references. Both patients, in their pre- and post-medication interviews, have overused ambiguous references and references with missing referents (11% on average as opposed to 2% for normals).
- (ii) from a clinical point of view, it can be concluded that Clozapine led to changes in the rates of use of referential devices such as anaphora (cohesive) and exophora (situational) that are not very noticeable or problematic for interpretation. In contrast, the highly noticeable and disrupting use of unclear reference by the patients remained unchanged. That is, the variables with the greatest clinical salience do not change.
- (iii) Clozapine also had no effect on the use of phoric references. The lack of effect suggests that Clozapine affects certain cognitive processes responsible for the production of language and leaves others unaffected. In other words, different aspects of language have different cognitive substrates. Therefore, one may induce that Burke et al.'s (1995) claim that Clozapine influences the cognitive processes underlying language must be made more specific. That is, while it seems that Clozapine improves only certain language aspects, one could assume that the brain subsumes certain language specializations of which only some are affected by Clozapine.

Moreover, the findings reported in this study suggest that schizophrenics do indeed have some linguistic characteristics which differentiate them from normals. Disorganized schizophrenic patients are most different from normals in that they:

- (i) more frequently refer exophorically to some concrete world—whether real or unreal—and less to previous text (or discourse), and
- (ii) use unclear anaphoric references much more frequently than normals.

The case-study approach does not permit us to draw general conclusions concerning the characteristics of schizophrenic discourse or the effects of Clozapine on language. Nonetheless, the detailed method of linguistic analysis demonstrated here is beneficial for assessing the usefulness of a linguistic approach in profiling schizophrenics' discourse and its sensitivity to the effects of stimulant treatment. That is, considering that the major problem facing clinicians and researchers is the lack of suitable instruments for objectively measuring discourse, linguistic tools enable us to examine the fit of speakers with the expectancies typical of social context, and to understand the cognitive differences between speakers. Cohesion analysis might be particularly helpful for improving the sensitivity of various clinical indices, such as the Thought Disorder Index (TDI), the scale for the assessment of Thought, Language, and Communication (TLC), and the Assessment of Bizarre-Idiosyncratic Thinking (BIT), used for assessing thought disorders and the psychiatric state of schizophrenic patients and other psychotic populations (for details see Berenbaum & Barch, 1995; Sanders et al., 1995). The results of this study also support further investigation of medication effects on the discourse of adolescents with disorganized schizophrenia and other subtypes of schizophrenia. A similar association of medication with social and cognitive function may be found with other medications and in other clinical populations.

CLOSING REMARKS

Although it is clear that the study of the language of schizophrenics and other psychiatric populations requires an analysis that covers many aspects of language use, and although the application of such a broad spectrum of language analyses is an ultimate necessity, the present paper attempted to show that a theoretically-based analysis of one language component, such as cohesion, is viable, and can shed light on some of the phenomena typical of the syndrome.

The findings from the cohesion analysis suggest that carrying out such analyses could be helpful in understanding where the break in communication occurs. Such knowledge would be useful to psychiatrists and therapists alike in determining treatment efficacy. In fact, the study shows that cohesion variables were sensitive to changes in the patients' psychiatric state. Finally, I hope that the theoretical clarifications and the study presented in this paper will be helpful in advancing the work on clinical populations. I also hope that this paper helped clarify the need for a view of language in context that is comprehensive and still empirically productive.

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Sound Ideas: Advanced Listening and Speaking

by Helen Fragiadakis and Virginia M. Maurer. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle, 1995. 257 pp.

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In recent years the attention being paid to the development of oral language skills in second language instruction has increased. This attention is partly a result of the acceptance and promotion of more communicative and meaning-based approaches to language teaching. This growing interest has resulted in the production of more oral language texts that provide opportunities for English language learners to develop and practice listening and speaking skills. One new twist in the new approaches is that the majority of these texts build on learners' grammatical knowledge and incorporate actual discourse situations in their task applications.

Sound Ideas: Advanced Listening and Speaking, written by Helen Fragiadakis and Virginia M. Maurer, is one of many volumes in Heinle and Heinle's Tapestry series targeting students of English as a Second Language (ESL). Since it was specifically prepared for developing the oral communication (listening and speaking) skills of advanced ESL learners, it successfully supplements texts targeting the development of the other language skills (study skills, grammar, vocabulary, etc.).

Like all the other texts in the series, *Sound Ideas* is developed upon certain principles that reflect a specific philosophy of language learning and teaching. These are expressed at the beginning of the text and serve as a foundation upon which the chapters and their individual activities are based. These principles are:

1. Empowering learners
2. Helping students improve their learning strategies
3. Recognizing and handling learning styles effectively
4. Offering authentic, meaningful communication
5. Understanding and valuing different cultures
6. Integrating language skills.

Upon examination of these principles, one can undoubtedly conclude that the text's content and activities are student-oriented; in other words, the learning that occurs in *Sound Ideas* depends a great deal on student involvement and student activity.

Fragiadakis and Maurer's approach to oral communication represents one in which from the very start, practical, everyday communication is the focus. For this purpose, the authors have chosen to combine listening and speaking activities under specially chosen topics. Their approach is based on, and informed by the inter-

active nature of listening, and oral communication on the whole. That, in itself, is a reflection of what occurs in the “real-world,” since most of the time language users are responding to what they are hearing either verbally or non-verbally (i.e., using gestures or responding physically). In ensuring faithfulness to authenticity, the authors’ approach has some tenets of whole language or integrated approaches to language teaching. This is evident in the fact that although the text’s emphasis is primarily on developing listening and speaking skills, reading and writing are also integrated, and thus receive attention.

The text has eight chapters and a preview chapter that focuses on getting students to reflect on the learning strategies they use in establishing and creating meaning in oral language situations. All eight chapters are similarly structured with an introduction, warm-up activities, listening and speaking activities, follow-up activities, and learning assessment. In each chapter, there are opportunities for the learners to check their background knowledge in order to prepare for the topic being discussed and set the goals they want to achieve.

The listening activities help the learners both practice their learning skills, and help them “learn to listen.” Underwood (1989) outlines the tasks involved in “learning to listen”:

By “learning to listen,” then, we mean that we want our students to attend to what they hear, to process it, to understand it, to interpret it, to evaluate it, to respond to it. We want them to become involved and active listeners (p.4).

Sound Ideas’ listening activities are arranged in three stages, encouraging learners to prepare for and organize their listening tasks and goals. The first stage is pre-listening, in which the authors set up the challenges of and the reasons for listening. For example, the students may be required to read an article, identify important vocabulary items, and focus on their pragmatic use. This enables the students to get “tuned in” so they know what to expect (Underwood, 1989). Then there are the ‘as you listen’ activities, which challenge and guide the learner to handle the information. The ‘after you listen’ activities, which include tasks like giving directions or writing summaries, help the learner reflect on the language in very specific ways.

This kind of organization helps the learner to develop specific listening skills. The layout engages the learners in active, rather than passive listening, thereby encouraging them to participate in their own learning through collaborative exploration of ideas: analyzing, criticizing, challenging, and speculating rather than simply listening and absorbing.

The speaking activities usually follow the listening activities. They require the students to examine and discuss certain opinions presented in articles or in excerpts from speeches and critically analyze these opinions in light of specific questions or tasks. These activities present students with opportunities to engage in role-play and simulation exercises, so that as much as possible, learners remain

close to the real world. In that way, students automatically establish meaningful links between in-classroom activities and out-of-class occurrences.

The follow-up activities provided in each chapter are specifically helpful in reinforcing that link as well. They require the students to go outside the classroom and engage in tasks/activities in which they apply their acquired knowledge and skills to accomplish certain goals. For example, the students may have to conduct a small survey, or locate some information in the library. These activities once again help students focus on the benefits and importance of the learning activities, thus adding meaning and purpose to the classroom activities.

The content topics selected in each chapter are relevant to everyday experiences and can thus be described as authentic in nature. They are sufficiently realistic, yet adequately challenging, and include: "Telephone Technology: A Curse or a Blessing," "Humor—Its Role in our Lives," and "Academic Dishonesty—How Common is Cheating?" among others. The very nature and phrasing of these topics set the stage for students to become involved in a realistic way. In other words, the activities surrounding these topics encourage analytical processing and creative thinking, and they promote the development and use of higher order thinking skills that are appropriate for advanced students. I was particularly impressed with the topic and the choice of material in Chapter Five: "A Medical Question—Should Doctors Always Tell The Truth?" This stimulating topic, which touches on the moral and aesthetic sides of the issue, is relevant to students and teachers alike, and promises to provoke very healthy class discussion.

The materials provided for the activities are wide in range. They include newspaper articles, comic and cartoon strips, transcribed excerpts from recorded discussions and debates, stories, letters, etc.—all representing the types of materials that students interact with on a daily basis. The choice of content and materials thus provides a functional basis for learning; i.e., students are able to use the target language to perform the variety of functions that they would have to perform in the actual community where the target language is spoken.

The learning assessment questions at the end of each chapter are also especially useful in getting students to evaluate their learning and helping them to reorganize their strategies in preparation for subsequent chapters. These questions help students keep track of the strategies they use—which ones are successful in helping them achieve their goals, and which ones they need to improve upon or change.

At the end of the text, Fragiadakis and Maurer provide fifteen comprehensive appendices with detailed information about the procedures for accomplishing certain tasks along with information on the importance of some of the activities in the text. This is a very useful reference section—one that provides learner clarification, and therefore encourages learners to practice research skills.

One of the other positive aspects of the text is its general layout. The clear print used throughout the text, the bold print against the soft blue used to highlight certain headings, the captivating cartoons, the informative threads running through-

out the text, and the strategy highlighters all combine to create a pleasant visual presentation, which can be very motivating for the learner.

Sound Ideas, therefore, seems to be just that. The goals presented for the students are achievable; the chapters are neatly and sensibly organized; the activities are explicit, practical, and realistic; and the content and materials are authentic, meaningful, and largely communicative in nature. Overall, the students are actively participating in their learning experiences. For these reasons, it can be concluded that the text is aptly titled and truly sound.

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The Newbury House Guide To Writing by M.E. Sokolik. Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1996, 233 pp.

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In keeping with the communicative language learning approach ascribed to by the Tapestry series, *The Newbury House Guide To Writing* approaches writing through the use of authentic materials and the integration of skills. Students are encouraged to be active participants in the classroom, and to look to both peers and teacher as resources for guidance and feedback on their writing.

The strengths of this text are multifold. Most impressive is the success with which the author, M. E. Sokolik, integrates socially relevant multicultural readings into the lessons through chapter themes. "Threads," colored boxes in the margins next to the writing samples, provide ESL students with culturally relevant information about authors and historical events, thoughts about writing, geographical facts, word definitions, and grammar points. This information helps students to build the cultural base of knowledge that North American born university students have acquired throughout their academic careers.

Effective organization is another strength of this book. In the first three chapters, Sokolik focuses on the basics of writing. Here students learn techniques for the following: generating and organizing ideas, effective note taking, critical thinking about their readings, defining the purpose for their writing, and identifying their audience and choosing the appropriate voice for that readership. Students are then given a checklist to help them integrate these concepts into their own writing. Various techniques are presented, and students are encouraged to adopt the ones which work best for them.

Chapters Four through Seven focus on specific types of writing: writing to express yourself, writing about literature, writing to persuade, and writing to inform. After reading a theme-based writing sample, group discussions are organized around both the content of the writing and the structure and style of the writing itself. Students are then guided through the essay-writing process--from choosing a topic, through the actual writing, to peer response and self-editing. Interspersed throughout the chapters are "Learning Strategies" designed to remind students of the techniques they have learned to help them in the writing process.

Editing one's own writing is the focus of chapter eight, which is organized into discussions of grammatical points known to be difficult for non-native English speakers. Each grammar point is described in terms of usage rules and one or two exercises are provided for student practice. This is the weakest part of the book. While appropriate grammar points are included, the discussion is limited to

linguistic structure. No mention of appropriateness in discourse is made. Also, while exercises might help students gain an understanding of the general use of a grammatical structure, little instruction is given to help them edit for these errors in their own written work. As an ESL writing instructor, I find this an area in which students need explicit instruction.

The final two chapters of the book are devoted to quoting and referencing sources, and to the presentation of final papers. Techniques for preparing for in-class essays are discussed, as are issues concerning computer use and preparation of a final draft. Finally, students are provided with a glossary of grammatical terminology and an index.

Overall, Sokolik does an excellent job of teaching writing while at the same time inspiring an appreciation of the art of writing itself. Although the text is designed to prepare ESL students to write university level academic papers, the emphasis on personalization of even the most technical of topics is consistently emphasized. Through examination of writing samples by such outstanding and varied writers as Lin Yu-T'ang, Joan Didion, Langston Hughes, Sandra Cisneros, Oliver Sacks, and others, students are truly encouraged to make their writing their own.

Language Planning and Social Change by Robert L. Cooper.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 187 pp.

Reviewed by Leah Wingard
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In *Language Planning and Social Change*, Robert Cooper engages the reader as he describes the field of language planning and adds to the field by synthesizing literature and building a theory of language planning. His work is a thorough and readable account of language planning complete with a variety of concrete, interesting examples that span both geography and history. In less than 200 pages, Cooper's book is a methodical step-by-step approach for the beginner to understanding the diverse and complex issues in language planning.

Cooper starts in the first chapter by describing the histories of four separate instances of language planning. In colorful and textured detail Cooper recounts the formation of the Académie française, the revitalization of Hebrew in Palestine, the American feminist campaign for non-sexist language use, and the Ethiopian mass literacy campaign. These short but interesting histories provide the reader with a sense of the diversity of instances of language planning and how the goals of each of these campaigns constitute instances of social change. In the subsequent chapters, these examples of language planning allow Cooper to consider the components of a good definition for language planning. These four examples additionally provide a shared basis of knowledge for discussion of language planning throughout the book.

In Chapter Two, Cooper considers previous work on language planning, as well as the examples from Chapter One as he builds a current definition for language planning. He examines 12 previous definitions by well-known scholars and shows how many definitions miss crucial components. Cooper constructs his own definition as a synthesis of previous definitions based on the question: "*Who plans what for whom and how?*" In considering the question of *what*, Cooper reviews three central types of planning which include corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning. His own definition concludes the chapter: "Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes." (p. 45) The strength of his definition is that it does not limit planning to authoritative agencies or restrict the target or form of planning. Language planning is furthermore considered to be a *type of influence* as opposed to outright *change* since much of language planning is concerned with maintenance and preservation of language.

Chapters Three and Four are a discussion of frameworks for language planning. Cooper defines the tasks for language planners as: (1) describing; (2) predicting; (3) explaining processes and outcomes; and (4) deriving generalizations. Cooper also considers how judging the success of these tasks can be determined in terms of adequacy. A key distinction presented in this chapter is the difference between *correlative* and *observational* and *experimental* explanations. Cooper quite aptly refers to descriptive frameworks as "molds wherein behavior may be poured to cool and harden for analysis." (p. 58) That is, frameworks can be drawn from a number of different disciplines to describe different aspects of language planning. Cooper understands the activity of language planning in terms of the following factors: management of innovation, marketing, a tool for power, and an instance of decision making. In the process of reviewing these various frameworks, Cooper continually asks the questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? and How? This strategy for inquiry allows him to get at all of the perspectives involved in language planning. Cooper continues to provide concrete language planning examples as he considers these questions within the frameworks of analysis.

In Chapters Five through Seven, Cooper reviews *status planning*, *corpus planning* and *acquisition planning* respectively. Whereas status planning refers to the various functions languages have in societies, corpus planning refers to modification or maintenance of the actual forms of language, which are deemed appropriate for the functions of the language. Acquisition planning looks at the organized efforts to promote the learning of language. Cooper draws on Stewart (1968) as a basis for examining the many possible roles of language in a society. Languages may be used for official purposes, for provincial or regional communication, as a language of wider communication, for international, capital, group, or educational purposes. Language may also have a function as the language of literacy or religious practice. Common focuses for corpus planning are issues of standardization, graphization, (establishing or standardizing writing systems), modernization (e.g., instituting new lexical items for scientific concepts) and renovation, (changing an already developed code in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, political or national ideology). Corpus planning often involves establishing attitude and ideology about language as much or more than influencing actual practice for language use. Among the recognized terms in the field discussed in this section is Kloss's seminal distinction between *ausbausprache* and *abstandsprache*. Cooper continually reminds us that corpus planning may be instigated to serve the power maintenance wishes of an elite, but it may just as well be used to strengthen the identity or self worth of minority groups or address the functional needs of the masses. Cooper's conclusions in this section, which recur as a theme throughout his book, show his continuous ability to view all language planning from many perspectives with a balanced understanding of ways in which power is a constant factor in language planning.

Since language planning is often an endeavor that initiates a change, Chapter Eight considers social change and discusses various common factors that are

thought to affect social change. Cooper notes that physical environment, population, discovery and invention, cultural diffusion, ideology and decision making often work together in some way to form social change. Therefore, theories which try to credit social change to one of these factors alone will invariably be wrong. Cooper briefly summarizes evolutionary, cyclical, functionalist, conflict and dependency theories and how they are related to language planning. All of these theories have come from different disciplines and Cooper determines in the end that no single theory can account for social change. He concludes that as language planning involves so many complex issues, a theory of language planning can not be determined until the field is better able find a satisfactory theory of social change.

In Chapter Nine, the summary and conclusions are simply a list of 24 generalizations offered to the reader about language planning. Many of the generalizations dispel common myths about language planning, and Cooper reiterates some of his most important conclusions from the previous chapters. Among these conclusions are that language planning is always concerned with the maintenance or the transfer of power. Language planning is and always has been a common and widespread endeavor. It is often concerned with language ideology as much as it is concerned with actual language behavior. With a comprehensive index of authors and subjects, *Language Planning and Social Change* gives the reader a balanced, readable summary and synthesis of language planning before 1989. The examples of planning both historically and at present give readers concrete cases to contextualize and understand the complexity and diversity of issues in language planning.

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- Applied Linguistics*, 18:4, December 1997
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IRAL, 36:1, February 1998
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